

CONFIDENTIAL



REVIEW OF COMMUNIST THEORETICAL JOURNALS

(1)

Prepared by

Foreign Documents Division
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
2430 E. St., N. W., Washington 25, D.C.

CONFIDENTIAL

W A R N I N G

THIS MATERIAL CONTAINS INFORMATION AFFECTING THE NATIONAL DEFENSE
OF THE UNITED STATES WITHIN THE MEANING OF THE ESPIONAGE LAWS.
TITLE 18, USC, SECS. 793 AND 794, THE TRANSMISSION OR REVELATION OF
WHICH IN ANY MANNER TO AN UNAUTHORIZED PERSON IS PROHIBITED BY LAW.

FOREWORD

This review descriptively summarizes articles from selected Communist journals and compares and points out key trends in the respective Communist parties and in the international Communist movement. In general, the journals reviewed herein are for the period December 1959 to January 1960.

REVIEW OF COMMUNIST THEORETICAL JOURNALS (1)

Table of Contents

	<u>Page</u>
I. International	1
World Summary	1
Line Deviations	1
Parallelisms	1
Asian Influences	2
Variation in Emphasis	2
Sensitivity to Western Attitudes About Soviet Union	2
World Marxist Review, January 1960	3
II. Soviet Union Journal	6
Summary	6
Kommunist, January 1960	9
III. Far Eastern Journals	16
Area Summary	16
Hung-ch'i, 1 and 16 January 1960 (China)	17
Hoc Tap, December 1959 (North Vietnam)	19
Bintang Merah, July/August 1959 (Indonesia)	22
IV. East European Journals	28
Area Summary	28
Nova Mysl, December 1959 (Czechoslovakia)	28
Einheit, December 1959 (East Germany)	30
Társadalmi Szemle, December 1959 (Hungary)	31
Nowe Drogi, December 1959 (Poland)	33
V. West European, Latin American, and Indian Journals	35
Area Summary	35
Cahiers du Communisme, January 1960 (France)	35
Rinascita, January 1960 (Italy)	37
New Age, November 1959 (India)	41
Estudios, September 1959 (Uruguay)	42
Estudos Sociais, May/September 1959 (Brazil)	44

- 8 -

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

I. INTERNATIONAL

World Summary

At the beginning of the new decade, the ideological main stream of international Communism continued to evidence major concern with problems of peaceful coexistence with the West; Western "imperialism and colonialism" in the underdeveloped areas of the world; the still troublesome questions of fitting agricultural organization and production to current Marxist concepts; the economic niceties of Communist competition with the capitalist countries, particularly the Western European market plans; and the ever-festerling nervousness about revisionism.

On a regional and national level, many more topics were being discussed and examined, but despite their diverse nature, many of these could be fitted into the over-all pattern apparent in the international line, as frequently exemplified by World Marxist Review (Problems of Peace and Socialism).

Line Deviations

The world's major Communist theoretical journals showed no outstanding deviations from the line laid down by the World Marxist Review at the turn of the decade. There continues to be interest, however, in the persistently cursory space allotment to Chinese ideological writings in the World Marxist Review.

There may be some hesitation involved in the East German lack of endorsement of a relaxation of tensions fostered on Khrushchev's initiative, since that country's theoretical journal did not join the Satellite periodicals which promoted this line. This may merely indicate, however, that there has been a publication delay, not unusual among the world's Communist organs. Certainly nothing in the East German failure to parrot the Khrushchev debate compares with the implied criticism of such Soviet moves by Chinese ideologists, as illustrated, for instance, in the Yu Chao Li article in issue No 1, of Hung-ch'1, January 1960.

Parallelisms

Aside from obvious conformity on such issues as revisionism, agreement on which is fairly world-wide in the journals, there are some other facets of similar usage which, even if they do not substantiate any definitive tendency, at least attract attention by their very similarity. For instance, the East German theoretical journal, Einheit, used terminology in its December 1959 issue, which bears considerable phrases as "socialist communal work" and "concentration on a few examples," the last concept being opposed both by the Chinese and the Germans.

* resemblance to language used by the Chinese Communists, particularly such

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

Asian Influences

Needs explanation
and evidence.
Not adequately
supported
by pp. 42ff.

Continued Chinese orientation of Latin American journals makes that even somewhat unique, especially the fact that these journals have frequently used Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese as their prime examples, rather than Khrushchev and the Soviets, but there is no indication at this time that this gradually developing propaganda linkage prefigures any immediate difficulties for Soviet pre-eminence in the international movement.

Other Asian influences making themselves felt include an article on Indonesia's "Guided Democracy" in the Czechoslovak journal Nova Mysl. In fact, the careful efforts to tailor-make contributions in Satellite Journals to the example set by the Soviets in their publications was again borne out by an interesting parallel on the subject of socialist realism. Essentially, the position set forth in Kommunist, in the article, "Today's World and Science Fiction," is mirrored to some degree in Czechoslovak and East German journal articles.

Variations in Emphasis

Differences in approach between the French and Italian Communist parties, as expressed in their theoretical publications, are in the nature of technical variations. Of the two parties, however, the Italian appeared to approach the matter of contents for its January 1960 issue more from an international viewpoint than did the French party in its January 1960 Cahiers du Communisme.

Sensitivity to Western Attitudes About Soviet Union

This is what Rabin should illustrate

Completely in agreement with the international line, as that line is now understood, are the key articles in the Soviet theoretical journal, Kommunist, which, more than articles from most of the world's Communist journals, give evidence of a heightened awareness of a change in Western attitudes toward the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, the stand taken by Khrushchev in his article in the World Marxist Review again confirms the unaltered position of the key Marxist theoreticians that basically there can be no real detente between the Communist world and the capitalist West, that the present coexistence there is necessarily a temporary expedient. This position is not apparent in the Communist line, which concentrates heavily on the idea of a detente, and which at this time ignores Khrushchev's warning that peaceful coexistence on the political and social level does not imply peaceful coexistence of ideology.

either they
recognize the
altered change
must play
for Khrushchev
purpose.

which?

not true

must not
be

Eastern European journals do not display an equal amount of sensitivity to altered Western feelings as do the Soviet writers, but, notwithstanding, they remain entirely in harmony with the current Soviet stand on all major issues, as was to be expected.

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

"World Marxist Review," Vol. III, No. 1, January 1960

The January 1960 issue of what may be considered the central organ of the international Communist movement, the World Marxist Review (English language edition of Problems of Peace and Socialism), published monthly in 19 languages in Prague and distributed on a world-wide basis, led off with an editorial, "On the Threshold of 1960," which, while repeating the well-worn propaganda themes of the Soviet Union's pre-eminence in scientific accomplishments, the imminent collapse of capitalism, relaxation of tensions, and united fronts, stressed particularly Lenin's ideas on the consequences of man's attempted conquest of space. "According to H. G. Wells, Lenin, in 1920, expressed a novel idea," the editorial recalled. "...Were we to establish interplanetary communications, ...we would have to revise our philosophical, social, and moral conceptions.... The technological potential, having become unlimited, will put an end to violence as a means and method of progress.... Given the present level of science and technology, all forms of relations other than peaceful coexistence between countries of differing social and economic systems are virtually ruled out."

The editorial cautioned, however, that "The peace forces must display the utmost vigilance and take vigorous action ...to isolate the forces of evil and prevent them from provoking new conflicts and international friction."

A more penetrating article than the lead editorial assumed an unexpectedly defensive posture, especially in view of the self-assured air of superiority with which the journal begins. The article, "Man and Socialism," by B. Ryurikov, is an attempt to reassure the reader of the essential humanity inherent in socialism and Communism. The article conveys the impression of much frantic overstatement, thus weakening its effectiveness.

The author contends that "Capitalism inculcates individualist ethics based on private property, greed, brutality, and thirst for aggrandizement and strives to imprison people in the stifling world of egotistic interests.... Our ideological opponents, claiming that Marxism attacks the individual and his development, assume the pose of defenders of the individual.... Marxists are for complete and all-round development of the individual for the creation of social conditions facilitating his progress, precisely because they are against individualism, with its counterposing of the individual to society and to other people."

"To the individualist, freedom means weakened social bonds, lack of moral obligations, and love of self.... Genuine freedom signifies cognizance of laws of nature and society and the possibility of action guided by knowledge and noble convictions. The individual who goes it alone is powerless; in fact, he cannot exist in the real world isolated from society.... 'Free will' minus contact with the advanced forces of the epoch and drifting in different directions driven by occasional winds is, in fact, a manifestation of ugly dependence on the worst effects of the world of private property."

"The personality has no more dangerous enemies than those philosophers who sing the praises of the individual -- solitary, lonely, and opposed to the world...."

"The modern quest for seclusion is, in fact, designed to conceal the desire of the 'strong' man to secure his well-being and happiness by subordinating and suppressing others, or the desire of the spiritually weak to flee society and the difficulties of social struggle and go to the world of illusions.... Any moralizing theory or 'philosophical' concept which leads the individual away from real life and isolates him in an abstract world is false and reactionary, doing harm both to society and the individual...."

The writer then challenges the critics of the Communist who maintain that the individual is deprived of his identity, his happiness, and his individuality under Communism. "Not profits," insists Ryurikov, "but the well-being of each member of society and the fullest satisfaction of his material and spiritual needs constitute the goal of social production under socialism. Social progress serves the development of man...."

This polemic leads the writer into an attack on revisionism, and here he used the same arguments which have become the standard line. Finally, he devotes two more pages to assuring the reader that only the Communists have the key to true happiness and that socialism has laid the foundations "for the universal development of the individual," making him "nobler, spiritually richer...."

Another article in the journal contains an attack on the Social Democratic Party of West Germany, but it couples the condemnation with another call for united front tactics, despite the fact that it is fundamentally in opposition to the social democratic ideology. This point more fully developed in another contribution by Nikolai Iribadzhakov, which castigates most current Western philosophical thought under the title, "Bankruptcy of Contemporary Bourgeois Philosophy." The writer begins with the contention that "a feature of the new stage in world capitalism is the complete break of bourgeois philosophy with materialism and with all theses leading to materialist conclusions...." He then enumerates and attacks everything from Kant to Freud and beyond, reserving particularly vitriolic comment for existentialism, linking it with neopositivism and attributing to it basically the same subjective-idealist qualities found in Berkeley, Fichte, Avenarius, Mach, and others.

Interestingly, the writer stresses that "some Marxist philosophers affected by revisionist vacillations sometimes become influenced by neopositivist ideology. Neopositivist philosophy, because of its links with natural science, can be a grave danger in the socialist countries too...." Despite such argument and condemnation of neopositivism and existentialism, however, the author does not quite succeed in establishing Marxist superiority, especially when he finds himself forced to use Hegelian dialectics as an example of a "correct" ideological approach, as opposed to existentialist dialectics, which deny the principle of "creative negation."

This is by no means defensive.

The writer's final condemnation is reserved for what he terms the "theologization" of bourgeois philosophy. He scorns particularly the concepts of the Neo-Thomists, asserting that while they are active opponents of existentialism and neopositivism, they are, nevertheless, "more reactionary than all other trends...."

Most significant in Iribadzhakov's comments about Neo-Thomism is the healthy respect which he shows for its ability to engage in argumentation with Marxism. "Neo-Thomism," he warned, "is dangerous not only because it has a broad and organized mass base among Catholics, but also because it is more flexible than the other bourgeois philosophical teachings. Its flexibility is illustrated in its criticism of Marxism...." He mentions, in this connection the highly successful critique of Marxism by Wetter, Dialectical Materialism, as an example of the "resourcefulness" of the Neo-Thomists and of their ability to acknowledge the correctness of certain Marxist principles to "deceive the reader" and to convey a "false impression."

Sensitivity is worth noting

In conclusion, Iribadzhakov makes clear the view that peaceful coexistence on the political and social level does not imply peaceful coexistence of ideology. This is the same point made in other articles of the journal, constituting a basic tenet of the current international line. *He makes a useful distinction between philosophy and ideology; this should have been brought out.*

Other features in the January issue of the World Marxist Review include an analysis of Denmark's development from the Communist viewpoint; a propaganda piece on the new independent states of Africa; a reprint of the well-publicized "Appeal of the Communist Parties of the Capitalist Countries of Europe to all Workers, to all Democrats," issued during the November 1959 Rome meeting of Communist Party representatives of Western European countries; a letter by the Communist Party of the USA on peaceful coexistence and the party's domestic plans; minor communications by the Italian, Swedish, French, Bulgarian, Icelandic, Moroccan, Polish, and Swiss parties; an international symposium on revisionism which adds nothing new but continues the same attacks made constantly in the journal; book reviews and discussions of Communist publications in various countries, none of them of real import, complete the contents of the January issue of the journal.

Notably absent for the first time in several issues of the World Marxist Review was any single article devoted exclusively to a condemnation of Yugoslav "revisionism" or attempted refutations and condemnations of E. Kardelj.

This article is of some interest as a representative of the use of national independence as an exploitable issue in WE and its link with peace campaign

By A. Iskanderov, one of the very few Soviets we have identified in the PPS staff. This treatment does not do justice to the ideological content of the article.

This is unfortunate. November, October, August issues also had no such articles.

II. SOVIET UNION JOURNAL

Summary

Of the 15 articles in Kommunist, No 1 (January 1960), four examine some aspect of Western attitudes toward the Soviet Union. While each article is addressed to a specific topic, prefatory paragraphs or internal comments indicate the current ideological context in which the article is to be viewed. These paragraphs and comments can be separated from the articles, leaving their substance virtually intact. The following analysis and excerpts will illustrate.

The first article is an unsigned critique of a collection of papers on US and Soviet economic development submitted to a US Congressional Committee in September-October 1959. The following are excerpts from the introductory passage.

Ideological? "Political scientists and economists of the US are becoming ever more convinced that the Soviet Union is an active claimant of first place in the world in the level of economic development, and that it is therefore necessary to give serious study to the economy of the Soviet Union and to the prospects of the competition of the two systems. Indicative of this line of thinking is a new collection of reports by American economists.... Similar collections were published earlier...in 1955 and 1957. The new collection differs in several respects from the two earlier ones. The authors of the earlier reports tried in every possible way to detract from the achievements of the Soviet Union. Now, in the majority of the reports, attempts are made to evaluate the facts soberly, to look into the economic life of the Soviet Union, and to investigate the reasons for its rapid progress...."

The rest of this introductory passage cites instances where US economists were "forced to admit" certain superiorities in the Soviet system and certain previously underestimated capabilities. These admissions, however, are said to be accompanied by "gross distortions" on the nature and functioning of the Soviet system and a "studied" silence on the defects and evils of capitalist economy. The rest of the article is devoted to a critique of the alleged distortions and omissions of the US economists.

The second article begins with a passage which is more obviously extraneous to the subject matter:

"Since N. S. Khrushchev's trip to the US, the world has been swept by a fresh breeze. A serious reappraisal of values is going on in the West. The Soviet space rockets have discredited the imperialist policy of 'from a posture of strength.' The Soviet plan for total and universal disarmament has inspired millions of people. The end of the 'cold war' is awaited with impatience not only by the great masses of people but also by many representatives of bourgeois

circles. Even the politicians who for years have been implacable opponents of any agreement with the Soviet Union are now forced to advocate a re-evaluation of old positions. It is quite obvious that life is powerfully impelling the capitalist world onto a new path in international relations.

"But another phenomenon may also be observed.... All the reactionary forces of the capitalist countries fear the prospect of a relaxation of international tension...."

The article goes on to analyze alleged US-West German "military monopolies" and to draw ominous analogies with the pre-World War II military industrial relationships between the two countries. The point to be observed here is that the introductory paragraphs of the article cast this development in terms of the East-West detente; everything that follows it, apparently, is to be viewed as part of the reaction to the "reappraisal of values going on in the West." With appropriate changes in these introductory passages, this article could have been published, almost as it stands, as early as 1957, and no divergences from the then current "line" would have been evident.

The third article is a reply to George Kennan's article in Foreign Affairs, January 1960. The peculiar detachability of the introductory passage is not as evident as in the two articles above, but the message is the same:

"The thesis that society's consciousness lags behind the life of society is well known, but it is proper to recall it in connection with the problem of the peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems. The principle of peaceful coexistence was put forward by V. I. Lenin during the first years of the existence of the Soviet state. Throughout its history, this principle has been the unshakable foundation of Soviet foreign policy. Only comparatively recently, however, has it entered the international lexicon, and it became the subject of more or less serious discussion in the leading circles of capitalist countries only in the most recent past.

"The essence of the problem is extremely simple: side by side on this one planet there exist two opposing societal systems. The relationships between them presuppose a choice between war or peace. There is no third way. The principle of peaceful coexistence provides the opportunity and the necessity of peaceful relationships among all states.

"The leading circles of Western countries are coming to understand this more and more. From this viewpoint, an article by George Kennan deserves attention.... We must point out at once that the article repeatedly distorts the Soviet position on a number of international questions; it presents the ideological views of Communists in a distorted way, and it makes obeisance to some outmoded formulations of bourgeois propaganda. But if this were the only distinctive feature of Kennan's article, it would deserve no attention. It is interesting for a different reason: The article is informative with

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

regard to the evolution which is taking place in the views of some of the ideologues of the capitalist world on the problem of coexistence in the modern world...."

The author then points out that one theme of Kennan's article deserves to be welcomed: Ideological incompatibility does not necessarily preclude peaceful coexistence. But Kennan, he says, misrepresents these ideological differences and proceeds to assume a certain dependent relationship between (a) improvement of relationships between states and (b) ideological problems. On these grounds, the author devotes the rest of his article to refuting Kennan's article.

The last item to be considered here is a review of Herbert Marcuse's book Soviet Marxism: A Critical Analysis, published in 1958. The review contains passages, excerpted below, which illustrate the reviewer's awareness of a changed attitude among Western critics of the Soviet system.

*Security
- careful
point.*

"...Marcuse's book is a typical example of modern anti-Marxist propaganda. In it he attempts to pervert Marxist-Leninist theory; he denies the socialist nature of the Soviet Union's social-economic system and sets forth his views on the ethical principles of 'Soviet Marxism.'

"At present, bourgeois 'critics' of Marxism are reorganizing. Marxism and socialism can no longer be 'silenced' or declared to be utopian or illusory. The authority and influence of Marxist-Leninist ideas throughout the world are so great that it is difficult to count on undermining them through crude, hatchet-wielding approaches....

"Marcuse is not stupid enough to attempt simply to deny the achievements of the socialist system. He is forced to admit that Soviet society has attained such economic successes that 'there is no longer a question of whether to develop heavy industry or the standard of living of the populace; both the one and the other can now grow. The "either-or" question is a feature of the Stalin era. Now it has been answered on the basis of the successes of that era....'

"On the other hand, feigning objectivity, the author indulges in some criticism of capitalist phenomena. Marcuse, for example, writes that 'Western civilization' in its present industrial stage has created all the material and cultural resources needed to effect freedom and equality for individuals and to develop their abilities, but the social system existing in the Western countries hinders the implementation of these ideals, for it permits injustice, exploitation, and repression....

"Thus Marcuse does not attempt to depict the capitalist system as a paradise or to paint the Soviet system in black only. But he turns to a new tactic in denying the decisive superiority of the socialist system over the capitalists: everywhere he searches out 'similarities' between the one and the other...."

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

The rest of the review consists of an attack on the book which is couched in the customary terms. Aside from the reviewer's remarks on Marcuse's "forced admissions," "feigned objectivity," "new tactics," etc., the review itself follows the pattern of Soviet countercritiques which has been established for decades. For example, the reviewer tells his readers that Columbia University's Russian Institute, which published Marcuse's book, is "one of the basic centers of anti-Soviet propaganda in the US" and leaves no doubt that he regards Marcuse's work as that of a hired bourgeois lackey, a work whose objectivity is most blatantly spurious.

The authors of the articles cited above merely refer to the changing attitudes toward the Soviet Union on the part of Western intellectuals; no effort is made to analyze this phenomenon as such or to exploit it further. The articles themselves follow established stereotypes. Especially illustrative in this regard is the critique of Kennan's Foreign Affairs article. Western observers who have read Kennan's article will naturally be eager to see the reply in Kommunist, expecting that the rebuttal to such a penetrating and logical statement of Western views would be as engrossing as the original. This is not the case. The response is less a rebuttal than a restatement of Soviet dogmas: the Soviet Union, the reply goes, has always worked toward peaceful coexistence; the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe are an expression of the will of the working people; the war in Korea was the result of South Korean aggression; etc. Thus, this article, like the others, is in a sense a routine exercise in high-level propaganda, and the repeated references to altered views among Western "ideologues" seem to be the result of an imposed task; as soon as it has been made clear to the reader that Western attitudes are undergoing a forced change, the authors shift to more familiar ground and write as their habits and training dictate.

"Kommunist," No 1, January 1960

*Example of
article that
needs no
+ treatment
beyond title.*

"The Party Summons Us to New Triumphs," an unsigned editorial, is an evaluation of the December Central Committee Plenum on agriculture: excellent harvest, despite unfavorable weather; heroic Ryazan meat production feat; but still much potential not being used in agriculture; Kazakhstan did badly; wherever there was failure it was "to a great extent" the result of "local party, soviet, and agricultural organs being weak, old fashioned in approach to organization."

*Adequately
covered in
the publication
review.*

"On Tasks of Party Propaganda in Present Conditions," decree of the Central Committee CPSU, names as goals the creation of a material basis for Communism; education of the masses to Communist autonomy; creation of "new man"; and peaceful coexistence. Shortcomings named in the article include being too divorced from real life and too restricted and not sufficiently popularly presented. It is recommended that the ideological level be raised; do-it-yourself methods of study be cultivated; better staffs be gotten; the number of textbooks, and especially visual aids, be increased; the role of the press be developed; more stress be given to social sciences; and more propaganda work be done in higher and intermediate institutions of learning.

These items of interest to (1) of which I am sure they will be of help to you

"New Lenin Documents," by G. Petryakov and K. Tarnovskiy (on the occasion of publication of the 36th Lenin Anthology), explains certain basic teachings of Lenin in the review of the "636 hitherto unpublished documents" comprising the anthology. It speaks of the vital importance of economic construction, staffs, and initiative; peace policy; importance of proper solution of the nationalities question in USSR; and unity of action as a guarantee of victory of the working class.

"Second Year of the Seven-Year Plan," by P. Ivanov, says that the results of 1959, briefly summarized, showed a real possibility of "fulfillment and overfulfillment of the Seven-Year Plan." He says that 1960 is to create "firm foundation for preschedule fulfillment" of that plan and that the chief characteristics are to be the introduction of many new up-to-date machines and the "speed-up of technical progress."

According to this article, the accent is to be on industry, especially its leading branches. A table shows the 1960 plan production figures for ten industrial products, in percent of 1959. The author says that there will be "accelerated development of new raw material branches," especially ferrous metallurgy.

Also, figures are cited to point up efforts at increases in production in the chemical, lumbering and paper, machinery, metalworking, and spare parts industries, and in agriculture.

A section is devoted to housing plans, with an accent on "efficient use of material resources," requiring "a decisive improvement in standardization."

The important 1960 goal, says the author, is raising the over-all living standard by adjustment of wages, transfer of industrial and office workers to 11- and 6- hour day, and step-up in output of consumer goods.

The Soviet people regard the state economic plan "as their own vital affair; they will certainly fulfill and overfulfill the plan, and by that very fact make a new contribution to the cause of Communist construction in USSR," the article concludes.

"Some Questions of Cultural Development," by K. Mikhaylov, says that "the party considers writers and artists its helpers in the great struggle for the cause of Communism." An introductory section outlines their "excellent conditions for creative endeavor," noting ever wider "mutual exchange of artistic treasures between fraternal union and autonomous republics," mentioning, however, that the goal of all this is "to rally and inspire workers to heroic labor."

The main section deals with theoretical and practical questions of the Soviet cinema's handling of present-day reality. Theoretically, it says, "Writers and artists are responsible to the broad masses for what they create." The higher ideological level of the masses, the better will they fulfill plans of Communist construction. The cardinal task of Soviet art is "to reflect the work exploits of the heroic Soviet people" in films of high artistic standard. With specific praise of the criticism of several films, the article emphasizes three great

mistakes: flight to the past; "cheap, tawdry...superficial pep-films on Communist labor"; and inept presentation of the technical side of labor exploits. The article bemoans the failure of films to exploit virgin lands material properly.

This section briefly comments on the impact of "life-affirming" Soviet art abroad and the "vile efforts of bourgeois criticism to distort and discredit Soviet art."

The final section deals with the aesthetic education of people and the question of what foreign films are worth while showing in USSR.

"The Soviet Schoolteacher," asserts that the schoolteacher and her school must be reformed "to prepare the young generation for building of new life," because "teaching has become divorced from everyday life."

The article points out that the duty of the Soviet school is to educate the man of the Communist tomorrow, to give pupils many-sided knowledge, to train them in the spirit of Communist ethics, and to acclimatize them to manual labor.

The complicated reorganization, notes the article, based on an effort to increase actual schooling time, was highlighted by "boarding schools," established "by initiative of N. S. Khrushchev."

The chief methodological reform, continues the article, is the ever-increasing concentration on practical production-line work by pupils. According to the article, moral stimuli and the emotional appeal of heroic labor exploits must not be neglected. Details are given of specialized trades learned by pupils and of party support of close ties between school and factory.

Suggestions for further development given in the article include: clarity on goals, training of teachers in the spirit of "socialist internationalism" and patriotism, indestructible friendship of peoples, and intolerance to survivals of bourgeois nationalism and efforts to oppose falsely understood local interests to over-all state, national ones.

"Today's World and Science Fiction," by V. Dmitrevskiy and E. Brandis, after distinguishing science fiction from science, examines "bourgeois" and "socialist" science fiction writers, commenting on works of several individual authors of each group and explaining the main difference between the two groups.

Among "bourgeois" writers, says the article, "cold war psychosis" predominates, the future is bleak, there is a morbid delight in horrors, and "what is most disgusting -- the extrapolation into the cosmos of colonial policy and zoological hatred of Communism." Review are Jules Verne ("divorced from social transformations"), Aldous Huxley ("malicious lampoon on socialism by frightened bourgeois individualist"), Azimov ("brilliant...but a depressing synthetic world"), Wandry ("inky, cruel, pessimistic, fatalistic allegory"), Allan Innes ("only virus-like metal-eaters"). Exceptions are given as Paul Anderson and Ray Bradbury, who the article insists can write and analyze "sores of capitalism," but have no faith in science and progress.

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

Soviet science fiction, the authors think, links "dreams of the future... with most profound transformations of the whole of social life, including human consciousness," and is full of faith in man's future. Reviewed at some length is Efremov's story of 21st Century cosmic Communism, The Andromeda Nebula, with quotations from an evaluation of it as "a classic" in French Tribune de Nation. Briefly noted are the Pole Stanislas Lem, the Czech Yan Veys, and the team of Yu. and S. Safronov.

After reiteration of why Soviet science fiction excels "bourgeois," the article concludes with: Why all this fascination with the creations of man? Far more interesting than these weird machines is the one without whom they could not even be, far more worthy of praise is the Creator -- Man!"

"American Economists on USSR-US Competition" reviews and evaluates "Comparison of the United States and Soviet Economies: Papers Submitted by Panelists Appearing Before the Subcommittee on Economic Statistics, Joint Economic Committee, US, Congress, Washington, 1959."

The review first devotes a section to attacking and attempting to refute those panelists who try to confuse matters by stirring up a feeling that there are no objective indexes of the competition and so each country can arbitrarily evaluate the results of the competition to its own taste. Haimann is reminded that no economic system can be properly evaluated "statically"; Campbell is accused of not having used all possible ways to compare two economies.

Another section of the review deals with alleged "falsifications of data on the relative speed of growth and on the levels of economic development." Here Matter is most criticized; he is accused of juggling figures unmercifully, arbitrarily reducing the 1928-1955 percentage growth of the Soviet economy to a point where not even other bourgeois economists agree with him, where even Allen Dulles was "forced to disavow the estimates of Matter." In this section, the review makes an insistent point of the steadiness of Soviet economic growth and of the continuous fluctuations in capitalist economic growth.

The final section of the review attacks the assertion of some panelists that the "goal of Soviet economy is not a rise in the people's living standard but an accumulation of industrial and military might," "investment before consumption." Figures on real wages and qualitative and quantitative growth of supplies of consumer food products are quoted. A few sharp remarks are made on the goal of capitalist production: "Profits for...those who control the means of production."

"Works of Outstanding Vietnamese Revolutionary," by V. Zelentsov, is a descriptive commentary on works of Ho Chi Minh, as now available in part (815 pages) in Russian translation, published in 1959.

This "outstanding Vietnamese revolutionary...chosen honorary Chairman of the Vietnam Patriotic Front" was loud, fervent, persistent in his praise of Lenin, his deep convictions on how "experience of Great October Revolution lit with brilliant light the path of revolution in Vietnam."

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

~~C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L~~

He asserts that "revolutions in colonial and semicolonial lands are above all peasant revolution" and agrees with the Leninist thesis on the necessity of proletariat unity of action and shows how this was achieved in Vietnam.

Commenting on war years, he "shows up the crafty policy of French and American imperialists" and sketches the "heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against the imperialist invaders."

He comments at length on North Vietnam agrarian reforms and general socialist transformations.

Much attention is given to the struggle for unification of the country, and he is quoted as saying that "'the demarcation line in no way signifies a political or territorial division of our country'". It is apparently only "a temporary measure, essential to the armistice." He condemns Ngo-Dinh and the revisionists.

Much is said on party work, always hewing to the line of unadulterated Marxism-Leninism.

"Military Monopolies Against Disarmament," by A. Leonidov, is an effort to expose an alleged link-up of German and American military monopolists to unleash World War III.

"All reactionary forces of capitalist countries are afraid of any prospect of relaxation of international tension," he says; but there are many factual indications pointing to the American-German link-up as the most dangerous of these forces. The bloc, he continues, "set up three decades ago, has been restored and is functioning as though there had never been a World War II and contacts between war industry barons of the US and the German Federal Republic are growing ever closer."

The first section examines the American scene and comments on the number of German specialists in leading rocket research positions and several other alleged suspicious symptoms.

The second section examines the German Federal Republic scene, with special attention to missile armament of the Bundeswehr; it is charged that the "West German navy is being built up not only according to NATO plans but with the help of American capital as well."

The third section deals with atomic research, where the author "discovers" many "sinister forces" at work, a linking of vast American and German monopolies "making capital by trading in death." Almost every major American and most big German industrialists are named, including Rockefeller, Acheson, and Adenauer among the politicians.

"Don't Put Obstacles in the Way of Peaceful Coexistence," by Yu. Zhilin, is a point-by-point criticism of the George Kennan article on peaceful coexistence in the January 1960 issue of Foreign Affairs.

~~C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L~~

Kennan is represented (and quoted) as accusing "the men in Moscow" of "distorting the history of the Lenin and Stalin period." But, says Zhilin, they do not! The USSR has always been in favor of peaceful coexistence; it was just that West did not always understand or made it difficult or impossible.

Kennan is said to make a point of Soviet efforts to export revolution, but this is said by the author to be quite false. "Every socialist state solves its own problems. Naturally, in the solution of these problems they afford each other moral support and display solidarity."

According to this article, Kennan charges that Soviet intentions in Eastern Europe are not pure nor reconcilable with peaceful coexistence. Surprisingly, here the article makes less effort to justify the Soviet position than to level identical countercharges against the West, especially in the case of Greece.

Kennan claims that Soviet Marxists are not fair to capitalism, the article asserts, says it has not changed in the last 40 years, and see nothing good in it. They are, they do not, they do, says Kennan's article, adducing no names, only general observations, Zhilin charges.

Kennan is said to make charges of an anti-American campaign in the Soviet Union. But, says this article, the USSR writes much positive about American achievements which have to be "overtaken" by the Soviet Union, and its negative examples are said to be almost all "taken from the American press itself and the speeches of American public figures."

This article argues that the crucial Kennan error is in requiring the USSR to make ideological concessions as a sign of good faith; this, the article says, is neither possible nor necessary.

"Stunned America," by V. Rodionov, is a glowing tribute to the book Litson & Litsu s Amerikoy (Face to Face With America), written by group of Soviet writers -- journalists who accompanied Khrushchev to the US. The book represents the trip as a "stunning personal triumph for Khrushchev," gives special attention to his meeting with dock workers, his disarmament proposals, and his handling of the allegedly rigged and loaded interview with American labor leaders.

"Approaches to an Important Topic," by M. Chernenko, is a general commentary on brochures and pamphlets on Brigades of Communist Labor. Eleven brochures and three pamphlets are mentioned, but only one -- Scouts of the Future, by S. Gershberg -- is commented on at length. The article deals with general observations on this whole genre, on brigades themselves, and on problems they pose to literature.

On brigades, the article asserts that their characteristic traits are high productivity, an emphasis on creative nature of work, and collectivity not only at work but in all phases of life (especially study) where "new interesting forms of collective study" may be observed. The article emphasizes factual

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

rebuttal provided by these brigades to the capitalist charge that the collective swallows the individual; it comments on problems of "formalistic, conservative, inert approach" by trade unions and some directors of factories with which some brigades have to contend.

On literature about them, the article, while admitting a hasty style of many brochures, insists that they play a "great positive role...propagandize new forms of creative initiative"; it calls for more attention to examples of collective living, comradely help in extra-factory life; calls for more such vivid stories, especially by brigade members themselves; designates the entire present state of such literature "only a first approach"; and calls for good, big, deep-probing books on this vital subject.

"Still Another 'Demolisher' of Marxism," by E. Modrzinskaya, is an acid review of the Herbert Marcuse book Soviet Marxism. A Critical Analysis. useful

Marcuse is accused of making an effort to prove departure of Soviet Marxism from the ideas of the founders of Marxist theory by falsifying the theory of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Specifically, this article indignantly asserts that Marx "never considered Communism a kingdom of general inactivity, laziness!"

Marcuse's "immanent criticism" of Marxism is said to be nothing but a campaign of distortions. He is said to purposely confuse socialism with Communism and to claim that government interests conflict with those of the people. Listing long series of Soviet welfare measures, the article sarcastically asks if these conflict with the people's interests. This article concedes that Marcuse does admit capitalism has faults, but he is then said to commit the unpardonable affront of insinuating capitalism and present-day Russian socialism have much in common. The Modrzinskaya article insists that socialist competition has nothing in common with "ferocious capitalist competition"; the "technological intelligentsia" of the USSR have nothing in common with bourgeois bureaucracy; Soviet art and artists are not the "last refuge of the opposition" but true native sons, cobuilders of Communism; individual interests, far from conflicting with communal ones, are therein perfectly expressed, the article continues.

In his critique of Soviet ethics, Marcuse is accused of forgetting that no specifically Communist principle is a mere paraphrase of bourgeois ethics but "an outright denial of it"; that only Communism creates conditions in which common, elementary norms of human ethics as such can be perfectly satisfied; that the Soviet "hope for the future" is no mere "transcendent, declarative" affair but a "profoundly vital, realistic" business.

"What Is Hampering Introduction of New Technology," by Yu. Sainov, lists six defects as apparently doing most of the hampering: insufficient liaison between machine designers and the factories where the machines will actually be used; insufficient group production of individual parts, which leads to delays and inefficiencies in turn-out; insufficient standardization, which leads to unwarranted delays in repairs and lost work-hours; much old machine-tool and machine production machinery which urgently needs replacement to prevent production bottleneck at the source; ill-conceived and inefficient specialization and insufficient over-all planning of cooperative production of complex machines; and lack of new blood, new young specialists to solve these questions.

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

III. FAR EASTERN JOURNALS

Area Summary

The comparative Communist development of China, North Vietnam, and Indonesia is reflected in the theoretical journals of their respective communist parties. Hung-ch'i, along with the Jen-min Jih-pao, the newspaper organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China stands at the apex of a highly specialized and still proliferating propaganda apparatus, taking up in fine detail the problems of revolution and construction as they arise from day to day. Hoc Tap, or at least the December 1959 issue, is performing the same task for North Vietnam, but at a lower level of complexity and subtlety. The current issue, for instance, takes up only in very general terms the reform of the bourgeoisie and control of the army. As for Bintang Merah the Indonesian journal, according to the latest available issue, it is still at the stage of only stating general dogmas. The official designation of this periodical as a journal of doctrine is as yet more a declaration of intent than a description of reality.

Nevertheless, there seem to be North Vietnamese and Indonesian Communist echoes of the Chinese Communist preoccupation with the mass line and other theoretical problems centering on it.

In China at present, the theoretical importance of the mass line is its tie-up with the question of the pace of economic development, currently the great-leap forward. The party center is presenting as a basic Marxist-Leninist dogma that the masses constitute the sole ultimate source of strength and wisdom for any task and the decisive factor making up the productive forces. Revolution and economic development consists of the striking away of the chains which bind the masses and liberating their power and wisdom. Since, in the last analysis, only the masses themselves can carry out the revolution and construction, there must be mass movements, especially if the highest rate of economic development allowed by objective conditions is to be attained. The attitude toward mass movements has been declared to be the touchstone by which an individual's or a class' revolutionary standing is to be judged. Opposition to mass activities at present has been declared to be a reflection of world viewpoints with roots in the bourgeoisie.

The Vietnamese discussions of the mass line, compared to those of the Chinese, are perfunctory but are also applied to fundamental questions. The December issue of Hoc Tap, for example, postulates the mass nature of both the party and the army. The members of the party and the army are from the masses and work for the interests of the masses.

The Indonesian Communists are employing the mass line in an attempt to establish rather than maintain contact with the masses, but the content of the line does not differ from that of the Chinese and the Vietnamese. Official pleasure has been expressed that more than 50 percent of the party's membership

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

is of peasant background. The party is avowedly anti-elitist and is seeking a large membership and a wide geographical distribution. Ustarjov has said that "Strengthening the party means developing and solidifying the party's relations with the masses and perfecting and increasing the number of party liaison (transmission) bodies [front organizations] which can connect the party with even the most backward segments of the masses and further improve the mass work of the party. In addition, it is very important to instill in the party the knowledge that the party's interests and the people's interests are one and cannot be separated from each other." The mass line is also expected to protect the party from the dangers of subjectivism or viewpoints which might otherwise warp the party's recognition of objective reality. The report of the Central Committee to the Sixth National Congress of the party stated that "Only by linking collective leadership with criticism and self-criticism and the mass line shall we get collective leadership that is critical, objective, and realistic, that is, good, strong, collective leadership that can increase the ability and authority of the party."

The Chinese and the Vietnamese are further employing the mass line as a partial rationale for party control of the army. The Chinese view is that the army is a tool of the proletariat and performs tasks serving the class interests. It must, therefore, never lose its connection with the masses, the most advanced component of which is represented by the Communist Party. The dual conclusion of this line of argument is that the army must be absolutely obedient to the party and that it must participate in non-military revolutionary and construction events along with the rest of the masses. The Vietnamese are in effect accepting this theory when the party orders the army to work in the fields along with the masses during times of peace.

"Hung-ch'i," 1 and 16 January 1960 (China)

Individual issues of Hung-ch'i typically consist of almost equal portions of articles on basic political subjects, on industrial and agricultural policy, and on examples of progress and problems in various fields. There is only an occasional article on foreign affairs.

The January 1960 issues are faithful to this prescription. Of 14 articles, only one deals with foreign affairs, while three deal with basic political subjects (the 1960 leap forward, proletarian leadership over industry, and the study of Mao's ideology), three with agriculture and the communes, and seven with the progress and problems of various fields (transport, street-resident work, the banishing of disease, cadre participation in physical labor, the output of old furnaces, methods employed by small coking plants, and finance work).

The subjects within each of the four categories change in accordance with events, but there has been no significant change in the last half year either in the proportions between the categories or in the specific topics taken up. In that period of time, the journal has been concerned almost exclusively with domestic affairs.

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

Theoretical materials in Hung-ch'i in the last half year have revolved around the response of the party center to "rightist opportunist" (a designation reserved for antirevolutionaries within the party) attacks upon its economic policies. The response has been both a counterattack and a justification of the policies, and in the last half year, have run the course from conciliatory indirect admissions of deficiencies to claims that all deficiencies have been corrected and that the opposition to the party center's economic and other policies is reactionary in nature.

Li Fu-ch'un, the head of the State Planning Commission, sums up the party center's official estimate of the success of its own policies, in an article published in the 1 January 1960 issue, with the conclusion that "After the continued leap forward of 1959, the high-speed development of the national economy, which started in 1958, and a situation of leaps forward accompanied by proportionment, have become completely matters of course." The troublesome theoretical point raised by the rightist opportunists during the last 6 months on whether the productive forces were ripe for the adoption of some of the new productive relationships, i.e., the changeover to the communes, during the leap forward, still has not been answered in Hung-ch'i except by statements of the very high rate of speed or increase in the output of goods since the liberation. However, such statements are not meaningful, in terms of theory, until the high rate is attributed to advances by the productive forces, a step very significantly not yet taken, a failure tantamount to an admission of the cogency of the rightist argument.

A particularly intense subject of controversy has been the employment of mass movements in economic work. The rightists have singled this tool out as one of the most abhorrent and disruptive of all the means employed to hasten the pace of development. The party center's defense has been the presentation of a theory on the relations between the objective and the subjective. According to the theory attributed to Mao, man is the most important of the productive forces. By stimulating his zeal or subjective motive power through political and ideological education, he is made to recognize the objective laws and at the same time given the desire to manipulate them for the social good. The rightists opportunists are concerned only with these laws as immovable limits set on man's activities, but the true revolutionary learns them to manipulate them. Mass movements are the embodiments of this type of zeal, and are indispensable if the limits set by the objective conditions are to be reached and if the advance of the productive forces themselves are to be promoted by the reflection back of this zeal, representing the superstructure, on the productive forces, or the economic base.

In issue No 2 of Hung-ch'i (16 January 1960), an article entitled "Study Mao Tse-tung's Ideology, Fully Develop the Motive Power of Self-Awareness," by Chiang Wei-ch'ing, first secretary of the Kiangsu Party Committee, presents this theory of the relation between the objective and the subjective as one of Mao's unique contributions to the Chinese revolution. The author related this contribution to Mao's status as a theoretician of the socialist camp. "Mao Tse-tung's scholarship in regard to the relations between the objective and subjective constitutes an extremely important blossoming and creative development of the dialectical and historical materialism of Marxist-Leninism."

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

Mao has been defended in recent months by the thesis that no one is always completely right and that the continued summing up of experience is necessary for complete understanding of the objective laws. The thesis, however, is not a license for attacks on Mao. Chiang Wei-ch'ing, in the article mentioned above, states that "...we will always succeed if we follow Mao Tse-tung's ideology. If we deviate even the slightest from his ideology, we will certainly suffer checks and even losses in the work of a period." (No 2, p 16)

The one article on international affairs in the January issues of Hung-ch'i is by Yu Chao-li, a regular contributor to the journal writing on foreign affairs. This article, in the 16 January 1960 issue, summed up the Chinese Communist stand on the possibility of easing international tensions. The US is unequivocally declared to be pursuing a two-faced policy of accelerating preparations for war while talking peace, and of having the destruction of the socialist camp as its sole objective. The only concession made to the softer Russian stand is the admission that "some members" of the US ruling clique have been forced by the growing might of the socialist camp to adopt peace tactics. Mao is given the credit as the first to have seen this trend (in his east wind prevail over the west wind thesis). What appears to be a blunt reprimand is directed at the Russians. "Russia is the main obstacle to the ambitions of the US. We need now to realize that the enemies of peace are still very active. We must expose their schemes and weaknesses, not fear them or beg them for peace." (No 1 p. 39)

"Hoc Tap," December 1959 (North Vietnam)

The December 1959 issue of Hoc Tap, theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party, contained five articles on contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in North Vietnam and on methods of solving these contradictions. These articles were: "The Commercial Bourgeoisie in Hanoi," by Nguyen Tien Duc, a member of the Hanoi Administrative Committee; "The Dual Nature of the Bourgeoisie," by Nguyen Xuan Truc, identified in May 1958 as the director of the Haiphong Branch Tax Office; "The Solution of Contradictions Between the Working Class and the National Bourgeoisie," by Nguyen Hoi who is not identified; "Class Contradictions and the Ability to Solve Them" by Doan Trong Truyen, identified in 1957 as deputy director of the Central School of Economics and Finance; and "The Transformation of Contradictions," by Dao Tung, identified in November 1958 as deputy director of the Vietnam News Agency.

This issue also carried three articles on the Vietnam People's Army, which were: "Fifteen Years of Struggle and Development of the People's Army," by General Vo Nguyen Giap, Commander-in-Chief of the army and Minister of National Defense; "Several Experiences in Building the Army," by Colonel General Song Hao, deputy director of the Political Directorate of the Vietnam People's Army; and "Songs Composed by Soldiers of the People's Army," by Thanh Tinh, who was not identified.

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

Other articles in this issue include: "A Great Work. An Essay Written on the Occasion of the First Printing of Marx's 'Capital' in Vietnamese," by Tran Phuong, who is possibly chief of the Rural Works Section of the Haiphong Municipal Lao Dong Party Committee; "The people of South Vietnam are Struggling Resolutely to Resist the Plots and Terrorist Activities of the US -Diem Group," by Tran Van Giau, who is unidentified; "The Great Progress of the Albanian People," by Nguyen Quynh, identified in 1959 as head of the Cadre Organization and Supervision Branch, Nghe An Branch of the Vietnam National Bank; and last, "Develop and Strengthen the Cadre Ranks," by Vu Duong, deputy chief of the Organization Department, Lao Dong Party Central Committee.

The theme of all five articles on contradictions between the proletariat and bourgeoisie and the methods of solution, is the same. Worded differently in some cases, the main theme is that the proletarian dictatorship means the predominance of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. Its aim is to eliminate capitalism and the bourgeoisie, and to transform the latter into workers. Peaceful and democratic means will be used to help members of the bourgeoisie, to show them the progressive way to rid themselves of their exploiting characteristics, and to become good workers. Forcible measures will be used only if the bourgeoisie makes it necessary.

Nguyen Tien Duc made the point that the bourgeoisie in North Vietnam is weak numerically, and its enterprises are medium and small. Its members are unwilling to study socialism and to engage in self-criticism, but since the masses are strong and the party's policy is correct, they have no alternative but to accept socialism, to convert to joint state-private enterprises, and to become workers. They accept socialism because they cannot oppose it.

Doan Trong Truyen, however, expressed the thought that this passive acceptance of socialism might not be enough. He said that North Vietnam could learn a valuable lesson from China where, after the proletariat had apparently been successful in completely reforming the bourgeoisie, indications of resistance to socialism were manifested in grumblings and complaints. The author maintained that North Vietnam has still not been successful in completely reforming the bourgeoisie. Therefore if its members do not conform or make any attempt to resist democratic methods, the proletariat must then use force.

In the three articles which deal with the army, the main stress is on its mass nature and its development under the correct leadership of the party. All three authors make the point that a revolutionary army originates in and struggles for the people. In peace and in war, the army and the people are never separated, and the soldier masses are the deciding factor in the success of a revolutionary struggle. Thanh Tinh quoted Stalin as having said that: "To speak of a revolutionary army is to speak of the workers and peasants."

Generals Giap and Song Hao stress the idea that the success of the revolution in North Vietnam is the success of a national democratic revolution led by the working class; it is also the success of Marxism-Leninism and of the vanguard party of the working class. According to the generals, because the revolution is developing steadily into socialism, now party leadership of the army must be strengthened so that the army can defend socialist construction in

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

North Vietnam, support the struggle for national reunification, and strengthen national defense. Party committees must give more personal attention to strengthening the army. Erroneous tendencies stemming from nonproletarian concepts must be corrected through criticism and self-criticism. Political training classes should instill in the men a good proletarian viewpoint; science and techniques must be improved but they must be closely related to ideology and politics in order to serve the class struggle.

In his article "A Great Work," Tran Phuong stated that the works of Marx are the theoretical foundation for the political party of the proletariat. Most of the article is a summary and explanation of Marx's Capital.

Vu Duong's article on strengthening the ranks of cadres also stressed the mass nature of the party and brought in the idea that the party should base its policy on a study of the social classes. "Marxism-Leninism holds that society comprises several classes and that the rights, requirements, psychology, and concepts of individuals vary according to the class to which they belong. This difference is called the class characteristic. Because of different class characteristics, persons of different classes have different views, attitudes, and solutions concerning political, economic, and cultural problems. Therefore, to avoid errors, it is essential that a Marxist-Leninist party base its policy on a study of social classes.... In building itself, our party which is a workers' party must take care to strengthen the proletarian element in its ranks, and must provide routine Marxist-Leninist education for its cadres and members. In view of the practical situation today, the party must pay enough attention to the social class of cadres and members in general. The reason is that few cadres come from the workers and peasants. Therefore, if special attention is not paid to admitting distinguished workers and peasants into the party and to training them as cadres, it will be impossible to strengthen the proletarian element in the party and to enable the latter to represent adequately the opinion and feelings of the broad masses of workers and peasants, and to serve their interests successfully."

Of the remaining two articles in the December issue of Hoc Tap, one is a bitter denunciation of the US -Diem group in South Vietnam; and the other is a statistical account of the economic and cultural progress made by the Albanian people since their liberation in 1944.

The content of the December issue of Hoc Tap is essentially the same as that of the previous month. Four articles in the November issue dealt with the reform of the bourgeoisie and the movement towards joint state-private enterprise. An article on the translation of Lenin's works into Vietnamese corresponds closely to a similar one on Marx's "Capital" in the December issue. Another point of similarity is that the November issue carried three articles against imperialism and capitalism, two of which denounced the US -Diem elements in South Vietnam.

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

However, the November issue differed from the December in that it contained six articles on agricultural cooperativization and improvement of the peasants' cultural level, whereas the December issue had no articles on these topics. The December issue carried three articles on the army and the November issue had none. This was undoubtedly because the 15th anniversary of the Vietnam People's Army occurred in December.

Every month in 1959 except December, Hoc Tap printed an article translated from a foreign language. In November there were two such articles: one from the Russian, dealing with what it called the US desire for war, the USSR desire for peace, and the great progress made by the socialist bloc under the leadership of the USSR; and the other a declaration made by representative of the Algerian, Tunisian, and Moroccan Communist parties pledging their cooperation with all Communist and workers' parties.

During December, the content of Hoc Tap differed greatly from that of Nhan Dan, the official newspaper of the Lao Dong Party, mainly because the paper during this period gave extensive coverage to various aspects of the forthcoming 30th anniversary of the party (6 January), and to accounts of the Eleventh Session of the National Assembly which was held from 18 to 31 December.

The only point of comparison between the magazine and the newspaper this month was the anti US -Diem article in Hoc Tap. Its theme was repeated in Nhan Dan which every day carried at least one article, and sometimes two or three, condemning US interference in South Vietnam, and Diem's brutality toward former resistance fighters in South Vietnam.

"Bintang Merah," July/August 1959 (Indonesia)

Bintang Merah calls itself a "magazine of the theory and policies of Marxism Leninism" and is issued monthly under the direction of an editorial council. The council is composed of Njoto, second deputy chairman of the Central Committee and long considered its leading theoretician; Sudisman, a member of the Politburo; Peris Pardede, chairman of the central control commission; and B. O. Hutapea who holds no official position in the upper ranks of the party hierarchy but who since joining the staff of Bintang Merah in September 1958 has written two articles of a rather high theoretical caliber if judged by Indonesian standards. Bintang Merah is one of seven periodicals published by the central organization of the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party). In addition there is a daily party newspaper, Harian Rakjat (For the official party description of the contents of most of these publications as released in Harian Rakjat in June 1959, see Summary No 2270). Considering the crowded field of party periodical literature, it is not surprising that some of the party's other organs on occasion impinge on Bintang Merah's area of responsibility and also deal with Marxist Leninist theory and policies. However, the very fact that the party itself identifies Bintang Merah as its theoretical journal in a sense puts an official seal of approval on the views expressed therein.

more than HR?

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

The latest issue of Bintang Merah available is that of July/August 1959, Vol XV. It contained five articles, some poetry, and a list of newly published books. Of the articles, the first was entitled "The PKI's Struggle for Full National Independence, Democracy, and Peace," and was written by Njoto for publication in Pravda. It described the preparations being made by the PKI for the party's Sixth National Congress to be held in early September 1959 and surveyed the materials to be presented to the congress for approval. The second article, "Return to the 1945 Constitution for Changes in Policy and Life," was the political report of the PKI politburo to the Eighth Plenary Session of the Central Committee which met in Djakarta early in August 1959. This report, written by D. N. Aidit, chairman of the Central Committee, discussed the current domestic and international situation and the positions taken by the party in regard to important issues. This was followed by the resolution passed by the Eight Plenary Session of the Central Committee concerning this political report which simply reiterated and approved the major points made by the report. "Strengthen Ideology and Make Unity Complete in Order to Make the Sixth National Congress of the PKI a Success," was written by S. Utarjo, secretary of the Greater Djakarta Committee and a member of the central committee. Among other things, this article stressed the importance of studying the materials prepared for the party's Sixth National Congress and of training in Marxism-Leninism in general for the development of ideological soundness and unity within the party. In so doing, it discussed the most important weaknesses displayed by cadres in their study, comprehension, and practical application of Marxism-Leninism. The final item consisted of the text of the statement issued by Aidit on 17 August, Indonesia's Independence Day. In it, Aidit listed the factors which combined to make national unity stronger this year than ever before and the conditions needed for carrying the struggle even further forward. The poetry, written by F. L. Risakotta, a prominent Communist writer, and entitled "Ballad of the Indonesian People" was addressed to Bung Karno [President Sukarno]. It also celebrated the revolution and listed the continuing desires and ideals of the people.

Two Tactics Pursued Toward Strategic Goal

These articles display a basic similarity in that, with the exception of Utarjo's article, they survey the domestic and international scene generally and present the party line across the board rather than analyzing one or two issues in depth. Because these articles range over such a wide field, a detailed examination of the positions described discloses a very definite pattern in the PKI's approach to every major domestic issue of the day. It soon becomes apparent that the character of every policy pursued by the party in response to a specific situation is determined either by the party's commitment to a national united front from above tactic or by its intention to develop the PKI as a mass party. The party itself sees these as its two basic and inseparable tasks, for it views them as the means by which it will increase its capabilities for changing the balance of power in Indonesia and for thus making possible the establishment of the people's democracy which is its immediate aim.

Although the PKI does not discuss this question of a people's democracy very often, apparently preferring to leave its intentions in this regard as vague as possible, the party program is quite specific on the subject. Consequently, Njoto,

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

in summarizing the program for his Soviet audience is also specific: "It is stated explicitly that it is only a people's democracy which accords with the character of the Indonesian Revolution. 'The government of a people's democracy will be a government which is entirely new if compared with all governments which have gone before. It will be a government which bases itself on the masses. It will be a government whose goal is full national independence. It will be a government of a national united front which is formed on the basis of an alliance of workers and peasants under the leadership of the working class.'" Njoto then goes on to discuss the portion of the program dealing with the way to achieve a people's democracy. He notes that it is possible to do this in a peaceful or parliamentary way, "but this is not a necessity." The basic problem, as noted above, is to change the balance of power in Indonesia and this can best be done through uniting the workers, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, and the national bourgeoisie in a national united front based on the alliance between the workers and peasants and under the leadership of the working class.

This dual party line of a national united front and a mass party was officially laid down at the Fifth National Congress of the PKI in 1954 although it had gradually been put into effect even earlier as D. N. Aidit, with whom it is closely associated, rose to a position of ever increasing power in the party. Ensuing events have only strengthened the conviction of Aidit and his supporters that this is the correct line for the PKI to follow, and the recent sixth congress did little more than reassert the PKI's intention to pursue this line despite any changes in the domestic situation.

PKI Theoretically Unsophisticated

It should be noted at this point that although Njoto in his article quotes the draft of the revised PKI program to the effect that "the PKI bases its policy on a Marxist analysis of the concrete situation and the balance of power," it often seems as though the PKI's approach to the formulation of party policy is almost totally pragmatic. Similarly, only very occasionally is there any attempt to discuss the party line on theoretical grounds in the party journals. This is probably due in large part to the low level of education among party members and their consequent inability to absorb the finer points of Marxist philosophy. Moreover, the lack of ideological sophistication apparent even among the party elite causes a shortage of personnel capable of producing truly theoretical material. Thus, a journal such as Bintang Merah relies considerably on speeches or official reports for its contents instead of serving as an outlet for articles of a specifically theoretical nature. The party itself has recently been paying considerable attention to this weakness as witness Aidit's speech on the 39th anniversary of the party [Summary No 2289] which was the major item in the preceding issue of Bintang Merah, Vol XV, June 1959.

overstate
ment

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

This concern is also reflected in the report made by Tjoo Tek Tjun to the recent conference of Marx Lenin Institutes in Bucharest as summarized in the World Marxist Review, Vol 3, No 1, January 1960. These leaders recognize that by failing to root PKI policy firmly in Marxism Leninism, the line is inevitably exposed to undue influence by bourgeois ideology. Another instance of the party's concern with the problem of Marxist orthodoxy is to be found in the passing and rather extraneous reference to the dangers of subjectivism made in Utarjo's article in the issue of Bintang Merah under review. It can also be inferred from the failure of any of the material in this issue to repeat the once extremely popular line that the Indonesian road to socialism must be determined above all by Indonesian conditions.

However, in spite of these signs that the party wants to base itself on firmer and more orthodox ideological foundations, the particular issue of Bintang Merah under consideration continues to use a descriptive rather than an analytical technique in its discussion of the party line. For example, the party's continued pursuit of a national united front policy and its determination to further develop the party are simply stated as the basic facts of party life. No attempt is made either to place these policies within a larger Marxist-Leninist framework or to suggest that similar policies might ever have been pursued by any other Communist party. This lack of theoretical sophistication is particularly noticeable in an article such as that written for this issue by Utarjo which actually deals with ideology. At one point, he states that one of the party's two urgent tasks is "to reinforce the national united front based on an alliance of workers and peasants and led by the working class," but he leaves it at that without any further explanation or justification. He devotes attention to the question of "developing the party's relations with the masses," to adapting the organization to recent developments in the situation, to democratic centralism, to combining collective leadership with individual responsibility, to the mass line, and so forth. In each instance, however, Utarjo tells the reader what the problem is to the extent that he defines the terminology used, and suggests how to deal with it by listing practical techniques which might be used, but the question why these are now appropriate principles and policies for the PKI is never actually raised.

Party Justifies Policies on Practical Grounds

This tendency to treat party policy largely as an article of faith is also carried over into the material dealing with the current domestic and international situation. In the political report to the Eighth Plenary Session of the Central Committee, Aidit infers that there has been some opposition to his policies within the party particularly since the failure of the united front policy to achieve PKI representation in the cabinet formed after the return to the 1945 Constitution. He counters this opposition by stating that the Communists should work for the implementation of the cabinet's program even though they may be dissatisfied with the cabinet's composition because the program is realistic and beneficial to the people. He says, moreover, that the gotong-rojong (cooperation)

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

cabinet which is the party's goal would have the same program. Aidit then goes on to point out that only a gotong-rojong cabinet will actually be able to solve Indonesia's problems and that the Communists should continue to work for its realization. These passages in the report are an excellent example of Aidit's reluctance to discuss party tactics in theoretical terms. His opponents are actually challenging the validity of the whole united front line, but he refuses to accept the challenge on ideological grounds even though the practical arguments available to him for defending his position may on occasion be extremely weak. This approach of course has the decided advantage of keeping the party line flexible. If the party's position is never clearly defined in theoretical terms, it is that much easier to switch the line when the need arises and if the line has always been justified on practical grounds, a telling practical argument for change will be all that is needed.

As described in Njoto's article, the party's analysis of the present balance of forces in Indonesia is that the forces of the reactionaries have greatly declined and simultaneously the progressive forces have become increasingly large while the middle forces have remained basically constant. Thus, the middle-of-the-road nationalists are the key to the situation and it is they whom the Communists are trying to dominate through the medium of a national united front. The political report states that "as the democratic forces grow, the centrists of the middle-of-the-roaders will be drawn into supporting a gotong-rojong cabinet." However, in a preceding paragraph, the report attacks the leaders of these middle-of-the-roaders as cowards because, although they did not openly oppose the formation of a gotong-rojong cabinet, they "tried to scare others into believing that if the Communists are in the cabinet, Indonesia would be plunged into catastrophe as a result of attack from the US." Aidit then goes on to ask "What can be built up in Indonesia with persons like this who are afraid of imperialism?" However, the evidence contained in this issue of Bintang Merah is too slight to warrant the conclusion that the party's attitude towards the leaders of the middle of the road forces has changed sufficiently to cause a shift in the party line from a united front from above to a united front below. Indeed, the only conclusion which can be drawn from an examination of these articles is that the party is still committed to a national united front from above and to the development of a mass party and that if a change is made in these two basic tasks, it will be a minimum of theoretical discussion.

Mass Media Used as Primary Channel for Party Line Transmittal

The line transmitted by Bintang Merah is essentially the same as that transmitted through the party's mass media. Indeed, of the five articles contained in the issue of Bintang Merah under consideration, three had previously appeared in Harian Rakjat. The political report of the politburo to the Eighth Plenary Session of the Central Committee was published in Harian Rakjat on 7 and 8 August 1959. The session's resolution on this report was in the 10 August 1959 issue. In addition, Aidit's 17 August statement came out in the 16 August 1959 issue of Harian Rakjat. Moreover, all these materials appeared in the Review of Indonesia, Vol VI, No 9 and No 10, for September and October 1959. The resolution was also published in Suara Ibu Kota, the organ of the Greater Djakarta committee, on 1 September 1959, Vol II, No 17. As noted at the beginning of this study, Njoto's article was written for publication in Pravda and was probably not previously published elsewhere in the party press. The article by Utarjo seems to have been written solely for publication in Bintang Merah.

26
C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

As can be seen from the above, Bintang Merah republished, several months later material that had already been published in Harian Rakjat. [For a discussion of the effect which the time lag in issuing Bintang Merah has on its role as the party's chief theoretical organ, see Summary No 2412.] However, the increasing limitations placed on Harian Rakjat by military censorship may force the party to return to using Bintang Merah as its primary channel for theoretical material. For example, the Marxism Leninism column which formerly appeared in Harian Rakjat and which was used among other things as the medium for transmitting the Indonesian adaptation of Mao's contradictions thesis has not been published since the first government ban on political reporting in June 1959. Nonetheless, Bintang Merah will have to be made somewhat more current if it is really to provide Indonesian Communists with theoretical guidance.

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

IV. EAST EUROPEAN JOURNALS

Area Summary

East Germany and Czechoslovakia presented the classic Marxist arguments on the economic decline of the West -- an argument which was being defended in Hungary against attacks from high within the party -- while Poland remained silent on this problem. Czechoslovakia and Poland took up the Soviet line on the melting of the cold war as a result of Khrushchev's initiative, a line bolstered by Hungarian comment on disarmament and united fronts but ignored in this issue of the East German journal. The "ever sharpening" ideological struggle was noted in articles on education and religion in Czechoslovakia and Hungary, both of which reprinted Soviet articles on these subjects, and it was implicit in the Czechoslovak treatment of the French sociologist R. Aron, in the Polish treatment of the Polish philosopher L. Kolakowski, and in East German attacks on West Germany. Domestic problems featured were agriculture and education in Czechoslovakia; the development of socialist awareness in East Germany; housing and attitudes toward the intelligentsia in Hungary; and economic and agricultural management in Poland.

"Nova Mysl," No 12, December 1959 (Czechoslovakia)

"To Uplift the Level of Organizational Work in Our Agriculture," an unsigned editorial dealing with Czechoslovakia's perennial agricultural problem, advances the usual recommendations for improving the situation, the sum total of which is a clarion call for more effective party work in the countryside. The article presents an example of how the Soviet collective farm handled the problem of increasing animal production.

"The New System of Remuneration in the Soviet Collective Farms," by Jiri Kralik, describes the major features of the new system in Soviet collective farms and explains its importance for Soviet agriculture and economy. According to the author, the new system of remuneration is intended to stimulate a faster growth of Soviet agriculture. The problems discussed by Kralik were similar to those confronting Czechoslovak agriculture in the article above.

Several books are reviewed in this issue of Nova Mysl. "To Live in Peace and Friendship," by Vladimir Petr, is a critique of a book by the same title published in Moscow in 1959. The book deals with Khrushchev's visit to the US and contains texts of speeches, documents, photographs, and other material. It is claimed to be more complete than a similar book published in Prague under the title Navsteva N. S. Chruscheva v USA (The Visit of N. S. Khrushchev in the USA). Petr states that the book shows how "the ice which had accumulated in past years melts away under the warmth of his [Khrushchev's] profound human interest, broad smile, and the irresistible soundness of his arguments." According to the reviewer, the book "provides answers to the most burning questions of our times: how to eliminate the 'cold war' and secure peace, peaceful

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

coexistence in the world, and friendship among nations," a virtual panacea for all the ills confronting the world. His review, however, sharply criticizes "American imperialism" in terms not consonant with the professed desires of relaxing international tension.

"Contemporary Biology, the World View and Charles Darwin," by Frantisek Cizek, commemorates the publication of The Origin of the Species by Darwin, whom he regards as being "essentially an atheist." Cizek asserts that Darwin, was both a materialist and dialectician who contributed a great deal to the victory of materialism over metaphysics, that his opinion proved the superiority of dialectic materialism over idealism, and that his discoveries undermined the position of religion, reasons for which he deserves serious attention even today.

"New Books on the Problems of Financial Management," by Leopold Ler, is a generally favorable review of two recently published books on the problems of finance in the Czechoslovak economy.

"The Teacher and the Reconstruction of Our School System," by Milan Maralik, touches on three current problems: the struggle against religion, the campaign to develop a "socialist man", and revisionism. The author laments the fact that "a number of teachers have not yet freed themselves of religious views." According to the author, some teachers have even asked to be transferred to other jobs so that they will not have to participate in the antireligious campaign. "In some okreses, the teachers of national schools are precisely the ones who exhibit the highest degree of religiousness."

Maralik points out that the teachers must perform their duties in the true and sincere spirit of Communist ideology. A teacher must actively participate in shaping the Communist consciousness of the youth, he says. "It is not enough, therefore, if the teacher just recognizes the socialist changes in our country. The point is that he also teach the pupils about these changes and their significance, and that he do so in accordance with party aims," the author argues.

There are still teachers, the author continues, who have "individualist reservations" about our system, and he warns against the dangers inherent in the demands for freedom of education as allegedly advocated by "revisionist pedagogues."

The questions of the Communist Education of the Working People," by L. Ilyichev, is a translation from issue No 14, 1959, of the Soviet publication Kommunist, dealing with the problems of creating and promoting a Communist consciousness, "a necessary prerequisite for the successful construction of a Communist society." The author's basic argument is that "the ideological struggle is becoming ever sharper." "The enemies of Communism are trying to revive revisionist ideas and thus obstruct the road to Communism." The foremost task of the working people continues the article, is to strengthen Communist consciousness, to achieve higher productivity of labor and to create a new man - a man of Communist ethics. Education plays the most important role and its responsibility can hardly be exaggerated, the author points out. Ilyichev's views are strikingly similar to those expressed above by Milan Maralik.

"The Problems of 'Guided Democracy' in Indonesia," by Miloslav Jankovec, is a survey of the political problems of Indonesia and how they are being dealt with by President Sukarno. According to the author, President Sukarno turned to "guided democracy" because the previous liberal democratic system had failed to improve the standard of living. "Guided democracy" is meant to promote all-round stability, economic and political progress. This policy is supported by the Communist party, which also demands the formation of a national front. Since the so-called progressive forces are gaining more and more ground, the author believes that Indonesia has a fair chance of becoming a people's democracy.

"The Influence of the State Monopolistic Capital on the Course of the Industrial Cycle in the USA, 1947-1957," by Jaroslav Langr, is a review of the development of various sectors of the US economy. The author employs the classic Communist argument -- that rearmament has played an important role in stimulating US economic expansion which reached its peak in 1953 and has since experienced stagnation and even decline.

"The Fourth International Sociological Congress in Italy," by Ladislav Hrzal, is a report on the proceedings and discussions of the Fourth International Sociological Congress, with major emphasis on lectures by the French sociologist, R. Aron. Aron claimed that American sociology is on a higher academic level than Soviet sociology; he criticized Marxism and historical materialism and argued that the Soviet theory of revolution is hopelessly outdated. The author takes issues with Aron and adds that, "we can never adapt ourselves nor retreat from our positions in questions which concern the fundamental tenets of our ideology." However, Hrzal did concede that the general atmosphere of the congress was conducive to international scientific cooperation and that attacks against Marxism were not conspicuous.

"The Contents of the 1959 Issues," is a listing by appropriate categories of all the material which appeared in Hova Mysl during 1959.

"Einheit," No 12, December 1959 (East Germany)

The current major concern of the party to develop and broaden socialist awareness, particularly on the lowest popular level, is essentially reflected in all the main contributions in this issue dealing with the internal situation. Within this general concern -- which almost invariably entails discussion of socialist communal work as "the most important form" of developing socialist attitudes--an emphasis on development in rural areas is particularly noted.

One article discusses the socialist cultural revolution in rural areas; another, socialist teamwork and consciousness among cooperative farmers; and another, labor productivity in LPGs (agricultural producer cooperatives); in all of these contributions, considerable stress is placed on "living, learning, and working in socialist brigades" which are described as "the key to solving all important tasks in the new stage of our development."

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

Another article on the "moral duty of the socialist man" points out that there are two particular traits which characterize the new stage of socialist awareness of responsibility: first, the awareness that duty goes beyond one's own particular job, beyond the brigade, i.e., that one's responsibility includes the enterprise, the industry, and the state; and second, the development of mutual socialist assistance and comradely cooperation in brigades, between brigades, and between enterprises.

The first article in this issue, entitled "The Development of the Working Class and Its Trade Unions in the GDR," in restating the role of East German trade unions and discussing socialist communal work, emphasizes that "the content of the new stage of trade union work is to make socialist living the concern of all workers and members of the intelligentsia." Trade union officials are specifically criticized for holding the view that existing brigades should be strengthened before they are expanded or new ones are formed. "Every substitution for effective mass work by the concentration on a few model examples [of socialist living] means leaving unused the forces slumbering within the working class."

Almost all other contributions in this issue of the journal deal with primarily non-domestic questions and are largely devoted to refuting, exposing, and/or denouncing various manifestations of capitalism in West Germany; specifically, "political clericalism, the expansion of West German monopolies in Latin America, West German "psychological warfare" directed against East Germany, and the advancing proletarianization" of West German workers. Two of these articles ("The Essence and Function of the 'Psychological Warfare' of the Bonn Rulers" and the review of the East German book Westdeutschland unter den Gesetzen der Reproduktion des Kapitals und die Arbeiterklasse [West Germany Under the Laws of Reproduction of Capital and the Working Class]), as well as the 15-page condensed reprint of the article "The Economic Depressions of Contemporary Capitalism" by L. Mandelson (which appeared in the July 1959 issue of the Soviet periodical Kommunist) indicate particular concern on the part of the SED (Socialist Unity Party of Germany) to refute what these articles term capitalist assertions of "class harmony" and of a "depression-free economy," as well as "capitalist attempts to camouflage the contradiction between capitalism and socialism, and to brand the Soviet Union as the aggressor, and socialism as unfree."

"Társadalmi Szemle," No 12, December 1959 (Hungary)

The lead article in this issue is a review of Hungary's Seventh Party Congress written by Istvan Szirmai, a secretary of the Central Committee and a member of the editorial committee of Társadalmi Szemle. Szirmai stresses the following points: "deep accord" with Khrushchev's foreign policy line, especially on Germany, as stated in Khrushchev's speech to the Hungarian congress; the new turn in Hungarian domestic life, i.e., a closing of the postrevolt period; no changes in Hungarian status or leadership; and the need for Hungarians to meet the production plans set for them.

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

Long articles on housing and on income of rural families contain considerable statistics but little of ideological significance. However, it is clearly suggested that persons with income from industry will have to give up farm holdings as collectivization proceeds.

"Modern Bourgeois Philosophy and Religion," by I. Oizerman, is the last article in the general section of the journal. It is a reprint from the Soviet periodical Voprosy Filosofii, No 11, 1959.

On a local level, Sandor Jakab, first secretary of the Eograd Megye Party Committee, discusses the relation of the party to the technical intelligentsia, stressing the need to treat the intelligentsia well and to oppose those who habitually distrust the intelligentsia.

Three articles by "journalists" in the "International Review" section discuss the desirability of disarmament, the need for a united front of all leftist leaders in Western Europe, and the hopes for peace in Algeria.

The final article, constituting the entire "Debate" section of the journal, reviews a debate held in Budapest on 14 November 1959 concerning Erik Molnar's book on economic problems of contemporary capitalism. Erik Molnar, who is on the editorial committee of Társadalmi Szemle, was not subjected to personal charges of revisionism, but his book was severely condemned by all participants in this debate. The major ideological problems are as follows:

1. Are there two types of economic laws (atomistic and nonatomistic), one of which can overcome the other? Molnar's book had stated that there were; all his critics objected and Molnar retreated. But in doing so he called into doubt the concept of lawfulness itself.

2. Does cooperation (worker with worker and capitalist with capitalist) invalidate Marxist predictions concerning capitalism (here separating this from the problem of lawfulness as the Hungarians failed to do)? Molnar insists that it does and his critics object. But the objections bog down in trivial debates over the proper reading of Marx (e.g., Is "absolute impoverishment" a "law" or a "tendency"?) and Molnar's critics do not agree with one another. The fundamental difference is that Molnar sees no necessity for an economic collapse of the West. "This is diametrically opposed to the entire life work and fundamental thought of Marx," say his critics and they cannot accept it; and they cling to the idea that the worker class will become revolutionary no matter how its condition improves.

3. Finally, and implicit in the above, should Marxists (and Molnar considers himself a Marxist) be pragmatic or dogmatic? His critics, repeating the slogan "revisionism is the chief danger," could not face the problems inherent in this question. But Erik Molnar's answer was clear: "We Marxists must face the facts directly...only then will we be able to adjust our practical tactics to the facts and thus make them effective."

"Nowe Drogi," No 13, December 1959 (Poland)

In view of the increasingly difficult economic situation, it is not surprising to note that quite a few articles in the journal are devoted to that problem. They continue to emphasize the Communist party line for greater economic discipline, increased production, and the more efficient management of production, -- all of which is to be accomplished at the expense of the worker since he is being asked to produce more at less pay. Hence, the exhortations to reduce employment, to curb wage excesses, to regulate work norms, to increase productivity, to improve cooperation between various enterprises, and to exert stricter control over investments.

The agricultural situation is almost as acute as the one prevailing in the industrial sector of the economy, and two articles are devoted to this question. They do not present any innovation in the present agricultural policy, but are more or less matter of fact treatments of things which must be done to improve and modernize agricultural production in Poland; namely, the training of adequate personnel to service and operate farm machinery and the education of rural youth.

An article calling for more effective work on the part of party members is nothing more than the standard complaint about a lack of enthusiasm and sacrifice shown in undertaking the realization of party tasks.

Perhaps the most interesting article in this issue is Adam Schaff's criticism of Leszek Kolakowski's controversial article "Karl Marx and the Classic Definition of Truth." Kolakowski has been unusually active for some time not in his role as one of the leading and renowned intellectual revisionists in Poland. He appears to be using every means available in an attempt to discredit the inflexibility of Marxist ideology. In a few articles written some time ago, he has in effect questioned the right of the Marxist system to stifle intellectual pursuits by calling for unlimited inquiry into all things and he has abandoned the notion that Marxism is a scientific and progressive ideology. Kolakowski has probably seized upon the old argument about the young and old Marx not so much as an effort to shed new light on the question, but rather to use it as another means to take another slap at Marxism.

The first article, by Piotr Jaroszewicz, Deputy Premier of the Council of Ministers, summarizes various economic tasks facing Polish industry as a result of the decisions made at the Third Plenum aimed at improving the economic situation in the country.

An article on the social cultural movement discusses local initiatives aimed at popularizing cultural activities, describes the various types of cultural associations, outlines their activities, and discusses their relations with administrative cultural organizations.

Concerning the management of the economy of industrial enterprises, there is a series of five articles written by workers of two factories in which significant progress was made in the field of the organization of production.

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

A brief article by Stanislaw Pogan, Secretary of the Opole PZPR (Polish United Workers Party) Wojewodztwo Committee, discusses the results of the post-Third Plenum plant debates on the Five-Year Plan. Another brief article comments on the need for more effective work because of the need to mobilize hundreds of thousands of people living in the Olxstyn Wojewodztwo so as to realize the new economic tasks and insists that party members must participate in the activities of other social organizations.

Another article presents a disturbing picture of the problem of training a sufficient number of qualified technicians who must ensure the adequate service and use of agricultural machinery, especially tractors.

An article on the future of rural youth warns that the simple introduction of machinery does not suffice to transform rural areas into modernized regions and that more general education of youth such as that undertaken by the Rural Youth Union (ZMW) is needed.

An article entitled "On the Studies of Young Marx and on Real Distortions," by Adam Schaff, Central Committee member and leading party theoretician, comments on Leszek Kolakowski's "Karl Marx and the Classic Definition of Truth," in Studia Filozoficzne (Philosophical Studies) No 2, March/April 1959. The problem of studies on young Marx, says Schaff, has changed during the past few years into a political question because attacks on Marxism, which are increasingly difficult to conduct directly from a position of an open negation of its role and importance, take on a more and more camouflaged aspect of an alleged defense of "true" Marxism against its "spoiled" version. To achieve this, says the author, young Marx as the true Marx is opposed to the adult Marx as the author of "spoiled" Marxism.

The author states that this opposition of young Marx to the old one, which is nothing new, has recently become the favorite method of the revisionists who try to shape young Marx into their own image and likeness.

But, the problem, says Schaff, is not limited to distortions in the interpretation of young Marx's works. It is much more complicated, chiefly because studies on young Marx are greatly needed for many reasons, and the possibility of abusing them in the spirit of revisionism comes, to a certain degree, from their previous neglect.

Marx the existentialist, Marx the voluntarist, Marx the pragmatist, etc., continues Schaff, are only samples of the "monstrosities" which have been presented and are presented up to this day as a portrait of young Marx. What conclusion can be drawn from this? Only one, says Schaff: Deep studies of Marx must be undertaken, because the best remedy for the nonsense which, in one way or another, is exploited by the enemies of Marxism is to oppose it with a widespread, truly scientific analysis of the young Marx period. Only in this way can such miserable "Marxology" be done away with once and for all.

The international situation was touched on in an article, "Much Has Changed," which comments on Khrushchev's recent visit to the US. The author gives what he considers to be the international and domestic reasons for the changes in US policy resulting in this "hopeful" event.

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

V. WEST EUROPEAN, LATIN AMERICAN, AND INDIAN JOURNALS

*This seems to be too broad a category*Area Summary

Free World Communist Party journals examined for this review were published in France, Italy, India, Uruguay, and Brazil. The latest available issues were Cahiers du Communisme, January 1960; Rinascita, January 1960; New Age, November 1959; Estudios, September 1959; and Estudios Sociales, May-September 1959. The two Latin American journals shared one specific article and, more significantly, the over-all field of interest, an extended emphasis covering the entire Latin American area, exemplified perhaps best by the tendency to classify affairs as national, Latin American, and international or non-Latin. The national-liberation, anti-imperialist, pronationalist (three ways of saying anti-Yankee) line was another theme common to both, and also the policy of looking toward Communist China as the mentor and example. Anything contained in Estudios could just as naturally have appeared in Estudios, and vice versa. In addition, Estudios borrowed from Problems of Peace and Socialism material which Latin Americans had contributed to that international periodical. } evidence?

A similar correlation might have been expected between the two big neighbors in Western Europe, Cahiers du Communisme and Rinascita. Rather surprisingly, no such thing was apparent in these two issues. } Worth more than this.

"Cahiers du Communisme," January 1960 (France)

The main theme of the January 1960 issue of Cahiers du Communisme, French Communist Party monthly theoretical journal published in Paris, was women and Communism. In addition to the five articles on women and Communism, an article on the forthcoming East-West Summit meeting and one on the party's organization in enterprises were of particular interest.

The first of the five articles, "International Women's Day," by Madeleine Colin, a secretary of the French General Confederation of Labor (CGT), discussed the history of Women's Day and the part Communists, especially the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), have played in its development. Following this, Cahiers published an article entitled "The Restoration of Democracy and Women's Rights," by Madeleine Vincent, member of the French Communist Party's Central Committee, who traced the struggle of French women for better working conditions; for the right to receive equal pay for equal work; for more social and political rights, including the right to vote and to hold elective office; and for the right to receive professional training and to choose a career.

In her article, "Women and the Struggle for Peace," Yvonne Dumont, vice-president of the Communist Union of French Women (UFF), played on the sympathies of French women and their desire to protect and preserve home and family to persuade them that they should support the Communist-sponsored campaigns against atomic bomb tests and in favor of Khrushchev's disarmament

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

proposal. She stressed that by participating in the Women's International Democratic Federation and other Communist-sponsored activities, French women can contribute positively to the defense of peace.

The fourth of the five articles, "The Communist Party and Women," by Georges Frischmann, member of the party's Politburo, appeared to be the one considered most important by Cahiers, which preceded it with the three aforementioned articles in an apparent attempt to build up reader interest and propagandize the party's interest in and concern for women's problems. Women can and must play an increasingly important part in the action to renew democracy in France, wrote Frischmann, and it is by increasing its activities among women, by seeing to it that their needs and demands are met, and by including more of them in party organizations that the party and France will eventually benefit. The fifth and last article on women -- "Women in the Soviet Union," by Pierre Hentges, Moscow correspondent for the Paris Communist daily L'Humanite -- seemed to be an attempt to prove how women can benefit from a socialist system. Hentges attempted to compare unfavorably the life of French women with that of women in the USSR by listing the social, economic, and political "opportunities" available to Soviet women.

Work more
attention
than this
is specific
follow-up to
Roussell

The Frischmann
article is very
definitely on
the Party
problem.

Only one article in the January issue of Cahiers was devoted specifically to party problems: "Party Organization in Enterprises," by Georges Marchais, Central Committee member. Reiterating a periodic plea to Communist workers to increase the activities of existing plant cells and to set up new ones -- a point stressed at the 15th Party Congress -- Marchais emphasized that a united front of the working class must be achieved and that to do this, the party must be organizationally strong in the plants. Marchais recalled the measures proposed at the congress to improve the party's work in plants: better coordination of local work and work in the plants, meetings of party members and sympathizers in residential areas if meetings at work are difficult, and increasing the role of the party committee. Since the party is the vanguard of the masses and "the conscience of the working class," wrote Marchais, the cell must be the force which applies the party line in the enterprises to guide the working class in economics, politics, and theory. He recalled that the 15th Party Congress issued an order to strengthen and improve the party's activity in the enterprises. This improvement, he claimed, is a matter of good sense and efficiency. The Communist Party must really direct the working class in its fight to restore and renew democracy and proceed to socialism.

East-West relations and alleged increasing differences between the big powers of the Western world were discussed by Jacques Denis of the party's Secretariat in an article, "Toward the Summit Conference," in the "Political News" section of Cahiers. Denis's main theme was that the unequal development of various capitalist countries contrasts greatly with the unity of the countries of the world which "have been liberated from exploitation and oppression." He asserted that an atmosphere of "contradictions and confusion" prevailed at the NATO Council meeting in Paris in December 1959 and that these contradictions could well cause the Western powers to go to the Summit meeting divided among themselves. The people of France, Denis contended, can help to counteract de Gaulle's promonopoly policies and contribute to international

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

relaxation by welcoming Khrushchev to France, by struggling to put an end to the Algerian war and seeing to it that the Algerian people are given the right to self-determination, by militating for general controlled disarmament and the outlawing of atomic weapons, by breaking the Paris-Bonn ties which "link our country with the worst revenge seekers," and by asking for the recognition of East Germany.

Other articles included in the January 1960 issue of Cahiers were "The Vietnamese Party Is 30 Years Old," by an author identified only as N. M. (possibly a Vietnamese whose identity the journal wanted to conceal because of the French government's ban on North Vietnamese activities in France), in which the strategy and tactics used by the Vietnamese Communists to organize and build up the strength of their party were discussed; "The Secular Battle," an unsigned editorial denouncing the Vatican and de Gaulle for their "prejudice" against secular schools in France; "Mali's Accession to Independence," by Monique Lafont, who questioned de Gaulle's motives in granting the Mali Federation "international sovereignty"; and "The 17th Congress of the Communist Party of the US," by Raymonde Brossier, who asserted that the American Communists have made progress in their fight against the revisionism and dogmatism which threatened the party's existence 3 years ago and that the congress was concluded "united on 'one policy, one line, one directorate.'"

Three articles were included in Cahiers's "Criticism and Bibliography" section: a study by Jean Marcenac on the socialist realism of Elsa Triolet, foremost French Communist woman author; a review by Marcel Ayache of "The Soviet Orient" by Marcel Egretesud; and a review by Henri Chauveau of Fernand Grenier's "It Was Like This...", an account of French Communist underground activity during the Nazi occupation of France.

"Rinascita," January 1960 (Italy)

The underlying theme of the January 1960 issue of Rinascita, the Rome monthly journal of Communist doctrine, was relaxation of East-West tension for the benefit of the Italian Communist Party, the USSR, and the entire Communist bloc. Although not always expressed in the titles of the individual articles, the theme of relaxation conditioned this first issue of 1960.

The largest amount of space went to the preparation for the Ninth National Congress of the Party. Seven authors contributed to the 24 pages devoted to the various topics being made ready for the congress.

The next important subject bloc, which ran a close second, had the subtitle of "Where Is Social Democracy Going?" Five articles, all condemning the 10-year trend toward the right by Social Democrats throughout the world, comprised this section.

^{yes indeed} There were three articles on regional autonomy in Italy. This domestic issue is interesting because the Italian Communists are determined to weaken the central government by creating 18 independent regions through supposedly constitutional methods; a large amount of space had been set aside in the official party daily L'Unita during the last half of 1959 for the same campaign of regional autonomy.

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

Fourteen ideological poems by the late East German Marxist poet Bertold Brecht were interspersed throughout the issue.

The lead article, by the party's secretary-general, Togliatti, who is also director of *Rinascita*, contained nothing new or outstanding. It was essentially an attack on the Christian Democrats based on national political and economic issues and on the anti-Communist attitude of the Christian Democrats.

The first of the articles related to the Ninth Party Congress was "Toward a New Majority," by Gian Carlo Pajetta, member of the party's Secretariat. It discussed the possibilities of cooperation between the Italian Socialist Party and the center-left majority in Parliament, in the new climate of acceptance of the leftists which began in 1956.

This would seem to warrant more treatment
"Regionalism Unlimited," by Enzo Santarelli, found the "moderate regionalism" of the late Communist Party Director Ruggiero Grieco distasteful and accused the Christian Democratic leaders of obstructing the establishment of standard statute regions.

"Parliament and Regions in the Socialist Outlook," by Luciano Ascoli, offered the view that autonomous regions must be envisioned as part of the socialist state and asked for new political instruments, that is, the formulation of a program for new institutions to overcome the contradictions between the legislative and executive powers, and between the central administration and local autonomy.

"On the Relations Between Reform and Revolution Along the Italian Road to Socialism," by Lucio Magri and Michelangelo Notarianni, defined "reform" and "revolution" as being "intermediate objectives" and "final socialist aims," respectively, and asserted that Italian capitalism is integrated with world capitalism, which must be subverted in a revolutionary rather than a resistance sense; although intermediate objectives lead to revolutionary change, the existence of an anticapitalist bloc is ineffective unless it is oriented toward socialism.

"The Labor Unions in Democratic Life," by Agostino Novella, Secretary-General of the Communist-controlled General Confederation of Italian Labor (CGIL), complained that the independent Italian Confederation of Trade Unions (CISL), and sometimes the Italian Labor Union (UIL), are spoiling the fight to implement Article 39 of the Republican Constitution, by which it was hoped to curb government "interference" in labor union activities.

"New Conditions in the Struggle for the Land," by Arturo Colombi, maintained that capitalistic farm enterprise is wanted by the government to compete on the European Common Market and is driving farm labor from the mountain and hill country to seek work in a "glutted" labor market. The Communist slogan, "Give the land to the sharecroppers!" was analyzed as proper by the Directorate of the Italian Communist Party.

"Economic Forms of Socialism Within Capitalist Society," by Michele Salerno, concluded the subjects treated for the Ninth Congress. The gist of the article is that, in contrast to Stalin, the Italian Communist Party's founder, Antonio Gramsci, supported Marx's theory that the economic forms

direct quote from article warranted

of any new society are already germinated in the preceding society, holding that a revolution liberates proletarian and Communist productive forces which grew within the society dominated by capitalism.

The four articles on the social-democratic movement were introduced by an editorial note which explained that Rinascita intends to continue exploring the problem of the non-Communist "European left" as it did in 1959, especially in its effects on the party's political and ideological battle.

The first of these four was "Relaxation and Social Democracy," by Socialist Directorate member Tullio Vecchiotti, who accused the Social Democrats of Western Europe of having isolated themselves from other socialist wings and of having made the improvement of the modern capitalist regime their whole purpose; they would have to choose a place in the class struggle or cease to exist, Vecchiotti declared.

The second article on the social democrats was "Bad Godesberg and German Democracy" written by the party's Directorate member Mario Alicata. It expressed great disappointment in the open denial of Marxist and socialist tradition by the West German Social Democratic Party at its national congress, and stated that the party's new platform places that party in a role servile to the German ruling class, at a time when German monopoly capitalism has reached a peak of economic power and militarism has become a decisive force in the German state. According to Alicata, the result of this defection by the Social Democratic Party has been to weaken the political weight of the German working class which makes up the majority of the party.

The third article, "Push to the Left by Belgian Socialists," was written by Ernest Burnelle, National Secretary of the Belgian Communist Party. It praised the left wing of the Belgian social-democratic movement for its success, as demonstrated at the Congress of the Belgian Socialist Party, on 12 and 13 December 1959. Burnelle complained that in the past few years Social Democrats have obstructed the just claims of workers throughout Europe.

"From Austro-Marxism to Benedikt Kautsky," by Austrian Communist journalist Franz Marek, considered the relative importance (third) of the Austrian Social Democratic Party in the Socialist International and its recent leaning away from Marxism. Marek traced the furious anti-Communism of Kautsky in the Draft Program of 1957, its toning down by the congress of 1958, and the Austrian Social Democrats' stand at the July 1959 Congress of the Socialist International held in Hamburg. Marek pointed out that the 1958 program subscribes to the establishment of a classless society as its final goal and yet states that private enterprise must be retained; he felt that the Austrian Social Democrats are trying to please everyone: Marxists, private entrepreneurs, and Catholic Church clergymen.

"The Danger of Arriving Too Late," by Gianluigi Bragantin, purported to report that the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) realized its predicament and had to admit the existence of international relaxation at its Sixth World Congress held in Brussels in the first half of December 1959. The matter of arriving late referred to the programmatic anti-Communism of the free trade unions in the face of international relaxation. Both George Meany and Walter Reuther were condemned, although the latter was credited with being ready to accept relaxation for the selfish interest of saving the free unions.

"The US in the Mirror" is a propagandistic letter from New York by Gianfranco Corsini avowing that a sense of uncertainty concerning war between East and West among the people of the US at the start of 1959 has changed to a feeling of security in 1960 because of the "discovery" of the USSR by the American people after the Khrushchev visit. Corsini implied that the US press is no longer trusted by its readers to tell the truth and quoted various US newspapers to show how much good will there is on the part of individuals toward the USSR, despite official censorship aimed at Soviet popularity in the US. George Kennan was quoted as saying that the US has no chance in a peaceful race against a disciplined Soviet society.

Under the subheading of "Between the Hammer and the Anvil," there are four shorter articles. The first, "From Palermo to Cagliari," is an account of two regional autonomist achievements in the Sardinian Region.

"The West Before the Summit" is a review of Western world attempts to present a united viewpoint toward the Soviets and to reconcile The Six and The Outer Seven; the purpose of the article was to ridicule the Italian Premier and Secretary of State as nobodies on the international scene.

"Energy for the Electrical Monopolies" is a condemnation of the Christian Democratic administration's legislation in favor of electrical and other monopolies.

"Ispra Adventure" is an exhortation to all members of Parliament to veto the "donation" of the Ispra Reactor to Euratom.

A section headed "Battle of Ideas" featured a single article by Umberto Carroni, titled "Knowledge of the USSR." Carroni stated that the atmosphere of relaxation is favorably affecting Italian-Soviet cultural relations. Nine book reviews were attached to Carroni's short article as follows: Lezioni di economia politica (lessons in Political Economy), Antonio Presenti, Comunismo e cattolicesimo in una parrocchia di campagna (Communism and Catholicism in a Country Parish), Lilliano Faenza; Napoli come e' (Naples as It Is), Emilio Imongo and Antonio Oliva; L'Asia e il mondo occidentale (Asia and the Western World), Gino Scarpa; The Ugly American, William J. Lederer and Eugene Burdick, Sicurezza sociale (Social Security), Acts of the National Convention called by the CGIL; Poesia e canzoni (Poems and Songs), Bertold Brecht; and Corso pratico di lingua russa (Practical Course in the Russian Language), Fomorus.

The next heading was "Review of Periodicals." Synopses of selected articles appeared as follows: "The Triangle of Decision", by Tibor Mende, from the November-December 1959 issue of Nuovi Argomenti; "Enlightened Bourgeoisie at the SPD Congress of Bad Godesberg," by Walter Dirks, from Frankfurter Hefte, January 1960; "State Enterprise and Private Initiative in the Struggle for Economic Independence", by Celo Prado Junior, from Revista Brasileira, No 9, 1959; "The Foundation of Criminal Responsibility", by A. A. Piontkovskiy, from Sovetskoye Gosudarstvo i Pravo, November 1959.

"New Age" November 1959 (India)

The November 1959 issue of New Age, the English-language monthly organ of the Communist Party of India, contained six articles and one book review, of which three made reference to the USSR, Indonesia, and the US, respectively, and the other four discussed purely Indian internal matters.

Articles in the former category included "The Soviet Union and Peace," by B. T. Ranadive, member of the party's Executive Committee; "Indonesian Communist Party Congress," by Aidit and Lukman, leaders of the Communist Party of Indonesia; and Mohit Sen's review of USA -- Second Class Power?, by Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson.

Ranadive's article was a salute to the USSR on the anniversary of the October Revolution. The article was replete with the usual historical treatise on Lenin, plus encomiums of Soviet material achievement and of peaceful co-existence. A short section welcomed Soviet aid to India as an instance of help for underdeveloped areas, in contrast to US aid, which it identified with imperialism.

In view of conflict in CPI, Ranadive position should be made very clear + precise.

The article on the Indonesian Communist Party referred to the party's sixth convention in September 1959, which outlined parliamentary means, party organization, mass organization, and united front activities as the basis for the Communist take-over of Indonesia.

Mohit Sen, in recommending that the Pearson-Anderson book be made compulsory reading, gleefully pointed to a Communist victory in that it had taken an anti-Communist such as Drew Pearson to admit that the US had dropped to the status of a second-rate power, a claim which the Communists had been making for many years.

The latter four articles were "Orissa's Coalition Ministry," by N. Patnaik, member of the party's Executive Committee; "Kerala State Finances," by A. Achuta Menon, member of the party's Executive Committee; "M. N. Roy's Letter," by Musaffar Ahmad, member of the party's Executive Committee; and Ram B. Sharma's "Praschand and the Socialist Tradition in Hindi literature,"

The first two explained the party's position in the states concerned. The article on Orissa was a scathing criticism of the Congress-Ganatantra Parishad coalition of 22 May 1959, which was a setback for the Communist Party. The article on Kerala was an attempt to defend or vindicate party activities in handling the state finances during the 2 years of Communist rule in Kerala State.

The last two articles delved into the history of Indian Communism. Roy's letter refers to the British Indian government's anti-Communist action in 1928, while Sharma's article misused the honored name of Praschand, a writer of the 1920s, to the advantage of the Communist Party.

Adequate?

"Estudios," September 1959 (Uruguay)

Estudios (subtitled "Political, Economic, Philosophical, and Cultural") is described on its cover as the periodical of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay. It is published sporadically with a maximum of four issues a year. The latest issue available is Volume 4, No 12, dated September 1959.

Issue No 12 was less theoretical than tactical and propagandistic. It had a fairly balanced content, covering affairs of Uruguay as well as other Latin American countries currently politically interesting, and themes originating in or related to Europe. The only item described as "philosophical" was an article by Roger Garaudy entitled "Marxism and French Progressive Thinking," translated from Cahiers du Communisme, No 5, 1959, and written in observance of the 50th anniversary of the publication of Lenin's Materialism and Empirio-criticism.

The more ambitious groupings of articles were entitled "Five Situations in Our Continent's Struggle for Liberation," and "Studies on Some Problems of the Liberation Movement in Latin America."

The former group comprised articles entitled "The Cuban Revolution" (by Blas Roca), "First Anniversary of Frondizi's Government" and "Four Months of the 'Austerity and Sacrifice' Plan" (both unsigned, on the Argentine situation), "Plunder of the Brazilian People by International Finance" (by Jacob Gorender, also published in Portuguese in Estudos Sociais of Brazil), "How the Communist Party of Venezuela Judges the Present Political Situation" (by Pompeyo Marquez), and "Bolivia: a Peculiar Situation in South America" (by Cesar Reyes Daglio, of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay).

The "Studies" were entitled "The Role of the National Bourgeoisie in the Anti-Imperialist Struggle" (by Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the party, "Some Problems of the Liberation Movement in Latin America" (by Pedro Reyes), "Some Chilean Experiences on the Problem of the National Bourgeoisie" (by Volodia Teitelboim of the Political Commission of the Communist Party of Chile), and "The Role of Jose Carlos Mariategui in the Formation of the Communist Party of Peru" (by S. Sezyonov and A. Shulgovsky).

The Sezyonov-Shulgovsky article was from the Moscow periodical Novaya i Novyestaya Istoriya, No 5, 1957. The Teitelboim contribution was the text of a speech he made at an international seminar on "The National Bourgeoisie in the Colonial and Dependent Countries," held in Leipzig, 21-25 May 1959. The article, by Pedro Reyes, had appeared first in Problems of Peace and Socialism, No 1, 1959, and the one by Arismendi in the same periodical, No 5 and 6, 1959. Of the two articles about the Argentine government, the first one was identified as an editorial in Nueva Era, the journal of the Argentine Communist Party, No 5, 1959.

A great deal of attention was paid in several articles to the national bourgeoisie, its nature, its contradictions, and the manner in which the party should make use of it to advance the party's aims of anti-imperialist unity, national liberation, and a series of ends tailored to the party's interpretation of each national situation. One reference of more than routine significance was in Teitelboim's address at Leipzig.

It was also of interest that T. said that the Leipzig meet came to no firm conclusions.

He said: "...Our [Chilean Communist Party] policy of working with the national bourgeoisie produces one of the basic differences between us and an important political ally, the Socialist Party, which maintains that today the national bourgeoisie is all reactionary and that no cooperation with it is possible. Despite this position on the domestic level, however, on the Latin American level the [Socialist] party supports the nationalist [sic] bourgeoisie in several countries and, on the international level, it makes common cause with Tito."

This was the only statement we had on this + it did not appear in the PRS abstract of his paper.

Teitelboim noted "some anarchy" in designating the national bourgeoisie, which is referred to by adjectives such as "compradora" and "importadora." Languages being so individual in essence, he said, "expressions which are clear in some countries, such as 'comprador' bourgeoisie in China or elsewhere, are incomprehensible to our people"; in Chile, at least, the present "unscientific" nomenclature "contributes to confusing the masses and is obscure to the people." Perhaps, Teitelboim suggested, "proimperialist bourgeoisie" might be clearer.

Rodney Arismendi, in his article, described the "conciliatory grand bourgeoisie," distinct from the national bourgeoisie, as "the economically powerful strata of the bourgeoisie which has not sold out to the imperialists but which has certain ties with them," preferring to deal with them at the expense of their own people and country.

His article worth more than this.

The articles by Arismendi and by Pedro Reyes covered a great deal of territory, touching on the IMF, the OAS, and similar, to them, tools of US imperialism, with particular attention to Jose Figueres, the liberal monthly periodical Combate, of Costa Rica, and the non-Communist democratic trend they typify. In a similar vein, there was an article by Alberto Suarez denouncing the Santiago Conference of Foreign Ministers, and one by Jose Luis Massera, "Uruguay and the International Monetary Fund." The fund was the whipping boy also in Gorenber's article and in Cesar Reyes Daglio's "Bolivia: a Peculiar Situation in South America."

Blas Roca, discussing the Cuban revolution, tried to explain away the fact that from 1957 until the fall of Batista, the armed struggle (Castro's forces) played the primary role, whereas political and "mass" action (Communist Party efforts) only a secondary one. The principal culprit he found to be the refusal of other Cuban groups to enter into "united fronts" with the Communists. Pompeyo Marquez wrote that the Venezuelan people would emulate the drastic methods of the Cubans against any government which might result from a successful effort of reactionary plotters to overthrow the Betancourt government.

This seems to be too restrictive. Arismendi was quite "theoretical" in a meaningful sense.

Perhaps the most "theoretical" writing in this issue was in the book reviews, which included issuances in Moscow of works by Lenin ("Against Revisionism," 1958; "On the Trade Unions," 1958; "Report on Peace," 1959; and "Party Work Among the Masses," 1958), issuances in Montevideo ("Fundamental Problems of Pedagogy," by N. A. Konstantinov, A. L. Savich, and M. T. Smirnov, 1958; and "Thought and Language," by D. P. Gorski, 1959), and an issuance in Peiping ("Refutation of Modern Revisionism," 1958). The Peiping publication was described as a compilation of documents and press editorials published in China in May and June 1958 as a contribution to the international debate with revisionism. The review of this latter publication was attributed to Samuel Wainstein.

The influence here does not seem overwhelming.

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

"Estudos Sociais," May-September 1959 (Brazil)

Estudos Sociais, the Brazilian Communist theoretical journal, claims to be a bimonthly publication; however, the latest issue available for review (No 6, Vol II) was dated May-September 1959. It carried six articles and several reviews of books and periodicals.

In a broad sense, this issue was concerned with the "imperialist US menace," national agrarian affairs, and the "glowing" example of Communist China, all in a context of Marxist theory and tactical propaganda material.

Featured in first place was the Portuguese-language version of an article originally contributed to Estudios, periodical of the Communist Party of Uruguay, also reviewed in this report. The article by Jacob Gorender was entitled "The Plunder of the Brazilian People by International Finance." The villain was the US, through the International Monetary Fund, and the hero was, of course, the Communist Party of Brazil, chief opponent of US imperialism.

The general area of rural economics and dialectics pervaded the issue in its national content; attention, in other words, was focused on matters of the farm and the peasantry, from an ideological viewpoint, with reference to Brazil. Rui Faco, in "Evolution of the Thinking of Euclides da Cunha," devoted himself to the ideas of the author of "Os Sertões" (The Backwoods), who, Faco found, eventually outgrew the dogmas of geographic determinism and the idea that peasants are inferior, reflected in that book.

A. Passos Guimarães, in "Some Aspects of the Historical Development of Sugar Mills and Stock Farms," compared the "slave" system of the former and the "feudal" system of the latter in early Brazilian history, and weighed their respective influence. His article was concerned with the subject of latifundia, as was Faco's.

Another journey into the same general area was Fragon Carlos Borges' "A Book on the History and Economy of Pernambuco," which castigated Glaucio Veiga for the views expressed in his book, Pernambuco -- sua Historia, sua Economia (Pernambuco--Its History, Its Economy). Borges went into the dialectics of the development of a sugar economy, asserting that the rural economy of Brazil in the colonial and imperial periods was a slave, not a rural, economy, and that this held true also for the sugar economy in later years. It was, he said, the dominant system.

in what way?

Communist China loomed large in this issue of Estudos Sociais. Josue de Castro's "China's Victory Against Hunger" was reproduced from the previous issue (No 5) of the periodical owing, it was asserted, to "misprints" in the latter. The article indicated that China had shown better judgment than the Soviet Union in that it had not neglected agriculture in the effort to develop industry, "as happened everywhere else, as happened even in the USSR, which at a certain point had to correct the shifts off course produced by the unbalancing policy, that went to the extent of threatening the structure of its economic system."

interesting

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

The writer noted further that "in analyzing China's Five-Year Plans, it is found that the agricultural investments item was always higher in proportion to the industry item than in the USSR plans. The reason is that, impatient though it is to industrialize the country, the Chinese government knows and respects the impatience of its people to obtain the essential elements to kill their hunger."

The moral of this, for Latin America, appeared in these comments: "The agrarian revolution started by the Chinese people and which led it to victory over hunger is, therefore, that country's great message to the world. The truth is that hunger--a universal calamity--has today set itself up as a sort of arbiter for the future of the world. Whoever succeeds in completely overcoming that calamity has every chance of dominating the world. [If China's example is followed and hunger is overcome everywhere]...we shall have not only peaceful coexistence, but also peaceful cooperation among all peoples and a new era of peace for all mankind."

Chinese opinion was cited also in the book-review section. Renato Arena cited Mao Tse-tung in discussing Celso Furtado's book *Desenvolvimento Economico do Brasil* (Economic Development of Brazil).

In other reviews, J. Miglioli discussed the Portuguese-language version of "Socialism," by Paul M. Sweezy (described as "one of the top Marxist theoreticians in the US, now a Cornell University professor and publisher of the Monthly Review"), and C. M. reviewed Aristoteles Moura's O Capital Estrangeiro no Brasil (Foreign Capital in Brazil), terming the book one of the best contributions to the nationalist movement in Brazil.

* * *

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L